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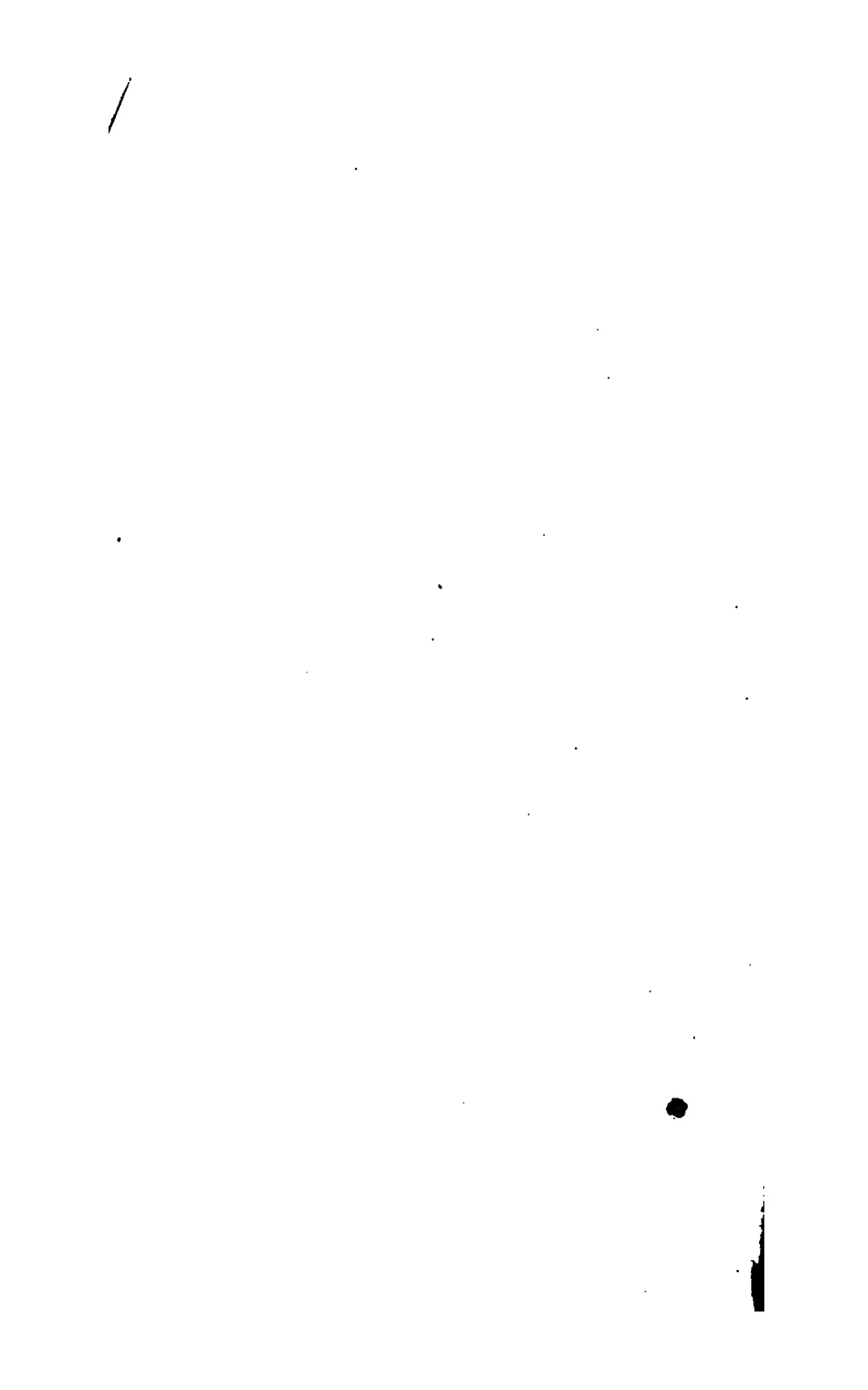
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BRITISH INDIA
ANALYZED.

THE
PROVINCIAL, AND REVENUE
ESTABLISHMENTS
OF
TIPPOO SULTAUN
AND OF
MAHOMEDAN AND BRITISH
CONQUERORS in HINDOSTAN,
STATED AND CONSIDERED.
IN THREE PARTS.

PART III.

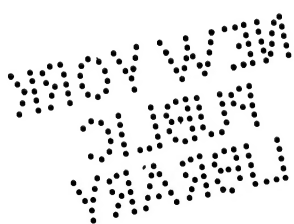
Inclus ea, tanquam videri attingo, sed nisi tamen tractaque
tenet non possunt. Hist. lib. 28.

LONDON.

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1795.



BRITISH INDIA.

PART III.

DEDUCTIONS

FROM THE

HISTORY

OF

MAHOMEDAN AND EUROPEAN

CONQUERORS.

Ms. A. 9. 2. 10
1854

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ERRATA.

Title to PART II.

Motto, for *babes* read *babeo*.

PART III.

- Page 603, line 11, for *escaped a defile* read *a defile which led to*
668, — 11, for *tables* read *table*.
679, — 14, for *with adherent* read *and their adherents*
711, — 21, for *dependance* read *independence*
726, — 13, for *Nixam* read *Nizam*
730, — 13, for *tha the* read *that he*
736, — 15, for *shewt hem* read *shew them*
739, — 11, for *dte rmined* read *determined*
749, — 1, for *d'strict* read *districts*
804, — 16, for *granadiers* read *grenadiers*
806, — 14, for *circumstanue* read *circumstance*
814, — 9, for *eng fins* read *ensigns*
824, — 7, for *extract* read *distracts*
830, — 7, for *expectations* read *expectation*
851, — 3, for *adventurers* read *adventures*
856, — 20, for *appears* read *appear*
857, — 25, after *limited* insert *period of*
882, — 4, for *the King's* read *the King to*
888, — 10, for *are* read *is*
908, — 1, for *nda* read *and*
910, head, for 110 read 910
— line, 10, for *Bitish* read *British*
— note, for *omne* read *omni*
924, line, 8, for *Cotbut* read *Cotbat*
931, — 7, for *juridiction* read *jurisdiction*
— last line, for *et* read *in*
936, note, for *dessert* read *dissert*
939, — 17, for *Zavier* read *Xavier*.

C H A P. XV.

*The Progress of the Connection of the English
with British India.*

TO form a true estimate of the opinion, in which the natives in *India* and the *British* nation may be induced to coincide as to the treaties and arrangements of past times, at present urged so strongly, and by the highest authority, on the feelings and honour of the nation, as prejudices deeply rooted in the minds and affections of the natives of *India*, as before stated *, I shall cursorily state the sentiments and circumstances of the contracting parties.

When the Empire of *Hindustan* † was invaded, and in part conquered by the *Mogul Tartars* about the beginning of the 15th Century, many of the *Rajahs*, or *Hindoo*

* Introduction, page xxxix.

† *Hobwell*, Interesting Historical Events, p. 103.

Princes of the country submitted, with little opposition, to the invaders, on condition of holding their lands and principalities, paying a stipulated annual tribute; but others of them, disdaining this tributary state of slavery, retired to the southward, and possessing themselves of the most southern parts of the *Decan*, they remained unmolested, until about the year 1654, the latter end of the reign of the Emperor *Shaw Jehawn*. His third son, *Aurengzebe*, being at that time *Soubah* of the *Decan*, or South, made a fruitless attempt on *Golconda*, instigated thereto by *Mbir Femla*, who revolted to him from the then reigning *Rajah* of that famous city and adjoining country.

Aurengzebe succeeding to the Throne of *Hindoostan* in the year 1659, pursued, by his generals, his former designs against the independant *Rajabs* on the coast of *Coromandel*, guided chiefly by the council and instructions of *Mbir Femla*, by whose valour *Golconda* was reduced, and the whole coast subdued, from *Ganjam* to *Coleroon* river, that is, from the latitude of $11^{\circ}40'$ to $19^{\circ}30'$ north.

The other promontory of *India*, called the coast of *Malabar*, from the borders of the province *Guzarat* to cape *Cormorin*, was never conquered by the *Mogul* Emperors, but the independant possession of it was maintained by various *Rajahs*, the chief of whom was the *Rajah* of *Sittarah* : to these independant princes the distressed and dispossessed *Rajahs* of *Coromandel* applied for succour. They, alarmed at the rapid progress of the *Mogul* arms, immediately united themselves under the banners of the *Rajah* of *Sittarah*.

These united princes and people were collectively known by the name of *Mahrattahs*, a word compounded of *Rattor* and *Maaba*, the first being the name of a particular *Raazpoot* tribe, and the latter signifying great or mighty, as explained by Mr. *Frazer*.

The acquisitions thus gained to the empire by the generals of *Aurengzebe*, cost so much blood and treasure, that the diamond mines of *Golconda* hardly proved an equivalent ; for the confederate princes made

such vigorous efforts to regain what they had lost, and *Aurengzebe* was obliged to keep up so large an armament, that the expence of preserving his new conquest exceeded the whole revenues acquired by it. The glorious vanity of having carried the conquest of the empire farther than any of his predecessors, determined him not to abandon them, until, at last, finding he should risque the loss of the whole, he began to meditate coming to a treaty with them, which resolution was hastened by several bold attacks of the *Mahrattas*, made on different parts of his dominions at the same time. On the side of his new southern acquisitions they carried fire and sword, sometimes into the province of *Dowlatabad*, and attacked the capital *Aurenjabad*, and from *Sittarah* they penetrated through the province of *Guzerat*, and sometimes alarmed even the Court of *Delhi*, striking a panic wherever they came.

Aurengzebe, seeing at length no prospect of extending his conquests farther over these intrepid natives, thought it a wise measure to secure and keep, if possible, what he had got. To this end he entered

into a treaty with the confederate *Rajahs*, and, by a secret valuable consideration given to the *Sehoo Rajah*, King of *Sittarah*, a peace was concluded on the following terms :
 “ That *Aurengzebe* should remain in quiet possession of his southern conquests as far as the river *Coleroon* and the port *Surat*, and that in lieu thereof, the *Mahrattahs* should receive and be entitled to, for ever, a *Chout*, or fourth part of the revenues of the *Decan*, to which *Soubahship* these new southern conquests were annexed by the Emperor.”

Thus a period was put to a war, that had chiefly employed the attention of near two thirds of *Aurengzebe*'s long and fortunate reign, by which so important an addition of territory and revenue was obtained, that had it been duly and honestly governed and administered, and the treaty kept inviolate on both sides, would have yielded a perpetual source of riches to all succeeding Emperors on every emergency of the state.

- As long as *Aurengzebe* lived, the *Chout*

was duly paid to the *Mabrattabs* ; but on his decease the treaty began to be infringed, though it suffered no open rupture until the death of *Shaw Allum*, when the empire falling into a state of universal confusion, by the contentions that arose between his sons for the succession to the throne, and by the subsequent distractions during the despotic tyranny of the *Seyds*, little regard was paid to it on the part of the Government.

Things being in this situation, the *Mabrattabs* determined to pay themselves by making incursions on different sides of the empire, laying the city of *Surat* under contribution ; in which warfare they met with such success from the continued pusillanimity and distraction of the government, that at length they extended their claim and demand from the stipulated *Chout* of the revenues of the *Decan*, to a *Chout* of the whole revenues of the empire.

When *Mahomed Shaw*, by the overthrow of the *Seyds* in 1719, attained secure possession of the throne, some check was put

to their invasions, and terms of accommodation being made with them, they, for some years, acquiesced to the terms of *Aurengzebe's* treaty, and annually received the *Chout* of the revenues of the *Decan* by their agents, out of the royal treasury at *Delhi*, long after these revenues had lost their way to court, by the usurpation and independance of the traitor *Nizam Ul Moolk*.

In 1740 the deputies of *King Sittarah* arrived as usual at *Delhi*, to receive the *Chout*; when they were given to understand " that *Nadir Shaw* had lately exhausted the treasury, and the Emperor was rendered utterly incapable of satisfying their demands; the more especially, as the revenues of the *Bengal* provinces had been withheld from the year 1738 by the rebellion of *Aliverdi Khan*, who, in conjunction with his brother *Hodjee Hamet*, had usurped that *Soubabdarry*, requesting that the deputies would intreat their master in the Emperor's name to send an army, sufficient to exact the amount of the *Chout* that was due to them; and also to take the heads of

Aliverdi and his brother, and restore the family of *Soujah Khan* to the *Soubaship*, as the then distracted state of the empire put it out of his power to send a sufficient force to reduce the two rebels." The *King* of *Sittarab* immediately sent an army of 80,000 horse into *Bengal*, by the western hills of *Bierboesen*. *Aliverdi Khan* was then at *Cattack* reducing *Orissa*, and by forced marches reached near *Burdwan*, two days after the *Mahrattas* had taken possession of it. He there received *Baschar Pundit's* demands of "three years arrear of *chout*, the treasuries of the two late *Soubabs*, and the appointment of an officer of their own to have a seat in every *Cutcherry* throughout the provinces to collect the fourth part of the customs on their behalf." *Aliverdi* received the proposition with indignation, and determined to force his way through the enemy and to join his brother; the *Bengal* troops beginning to desert, he did not delay: his principal dependance was on the *Patans*, and he succeeded in forcing a passage with much slaughter through the enemy, and gained the *Cutwah* road, in the course of which they

they effected a most memorable retreat of near three days and nights, being often surrounded and attacked on all sides by the *Mahrattah* army, and as often repulsing and forcing their passage, until they arrived at *Cutwah* with only 2500 *Patans* and 1500 *Bengal* soldiers, kept firm to their duty by the example of the *Patans* and the intrepid behaviour of their *Jemmaytdar*, *Jaffier Khan*. They were surrounded, and crossed a river deemed unfordable; escaped a defile; the river being gallantly defended by *Mustapha Khan*, *Jeyndi Amet Khan*, and *Jaffier Khan*, with 80 *Patans*, against the whole army; and when they judged the *Soubah* had safely passed the river, this gallant band retreated gradually, and, though pressed by the enemy, made good their passage of the river and joined the *Soubah* *. The *Mahrattahs*, after plundering the country, began to retire with the treasure, to secure their retreat before the rains of June set in. When the rains broke up about the end of September, they returned: the consternation of the inha-

* *Holwell*, *Interesting Events*, p: 119.

bitants made them seek safety on the East side of the *Ganges*. It is observed by Mr. *Holwell*, * that the manufactures of the *Aurungs* received so injurious a blow at this period, that they have ever since lost their original purity and estimation, and probably will never recover them. *Aliverdi*, unable to protect his country against the *Mahrattah* cavalry, or to bring them to any decisive action, resolved to treat; the overture only brought forth a demand, that *Soujah Khan's* family should be restored. Hostilities were continued; at last the usurper proposed a conference with *Boschar Pundit*; 200 armed men had been concealed between the double lining of the spacious tent, erected between the two armies, and the *Mahrattah* General and his attendants were murdered. The *Mahrattahs* elected a new General, and they continued their ravages from the beginning of December 1742 to February 1743. Every art and endeavour to bring them to a battle proved ineffectual; at length, by astonishing bravery and perseverance, he obliged them to

* *Holwell*, Interesting Events, p. 124.

repair to their general rendezvous, and they retired over the *Bierboom* hills to *Sittarah*. They had no sooner retreated than the usurper was alarmed by another army of *Mahrattas* entering the provinces by the way of *Cuttack*, commanded by *Rogajee*, and that a third army, commanded by *Ballajee Row*, had penetrated within a day or two's march of *Sichyully*; each army consisted of 60,000 horse; the first sent by *Sittarah* to enforce the orders given to *Boschar Pundit*, the latter to join *Rogajee*, and avenge the murder of *Boschar Pundit*. The armies joined in March, 1743, and the usurper, unable to cope with such force, opened a successful negociation, through the means of *Seffarow*, a *Mahrattab* prisoner, who had influence over *Ballajee Row*, to whom he was related. He agreed to cede to *Ballajee Row* alone the *Chout* of two years, and *Ballajee Row* engaged to satisfy *Rogajee*, or join the usurper to drive *Rogajee* and his army out of the provinces. *Ballajee Row* retired with his army, and left *Rogajee* to shift for himself; this General immediately took possession of *Orissa*; he sent thither, with the title and authority of

General, *Mbir Nubbeh*, who had been collector of the revenues at *Dacca*, and to avoid answering his mal-administration to *Alivardi*, had joined *Boschar Pundit*, and continued high in the confidence of *Rogajee*. The usurper employed all April and May without being able to bring *Rogajee* to a general action, and the rains setting in earlier than usual, both armies went into quarters; the *Mahrattas* remaining in quiet possession of *Orissa* and all the country on the western shore of the *Houghly* river, from *Ballafore* to within a few miles of *Tanna's Fort*, near the *English* settlement of *Fort William*. The armies of *Alivardi* retired to *Moorshedabad*, and *Rogajee* with his main army to *Bierboom*, during the rains. It is not necessary to relate the events which succeeded each other till the year 1750, when at length a lasting peace was made with the *Mahrattas*; *Alivardi* also defeated the *Patans* and his best generals, who had revolted during that period of public calamity.

It must be supposed that the trade of the *Europeans* must have been greatly embar-

raffed and injured, their effects plundered by the enemy, and these misfortunes much heightened by oppressive exactions of the usurper; but foreigners then participated of oppression, in great measure occasioned by necessity. Though *Aliverdi* had possessed the treasures of the *three* last *Soubabs*, yet so immense were his continual expences and disbursements that little of them remained; for it is pretty well known that the retreat of *Ballajee Row* was not purchased for less than 5 *crores* of rupees*, though 22 *lacks* for two years *Chout* only were acknowledged. The scene of desolation, treachery, and murder in which *Aliverdi* vigorously supported his usurpation cannot but excite commiseration, and the admiration of his intrepidity, constancy, and address.

This recapitulation of the revolutions in *Bengal* will introduce the reader to the financial view of the *Bengal* provinces under the Company's government†, and also

* Historical Events, p. 152.

† Vide p. 313.

the political view of the period in which *Clive* recovered the *British* settlements in 1757, and invested with the dignity of *Soubah*, *Jaffier Khan*, who so long had supported the military glory of *Aliverdi Khan*; and from that time he was commonly known by the name *Meer Jaffier*.

When the *Madras* Government invested *Clive* with powers independant of the Governor and Council of *Fort William*, it was on the conviction of the *French* and *English* being on the eve of a war in *Europe*; and they ordered *Clive*, when he had restored the *English* to their possessions, by defeating *Serajah Dowla*, to resign that independant power, and return to *Madras*. The Government and Council of *Madras* had sent positive orders to him to return with part of his forces after the capture of *Chandengore*; not knowing the cause, they could not account for his disobedience; the consequences to which he exposed himself in case of miscarriage could not escape him; under this difficulty he began his march to dethrone *Serajah Dowla*. *Meer Jaffier* and other chiefs had settled with Mr. *Watts* to

declare and join their forces ; when *Clive* advanced they hesitated ; a council of war decided against making an attack with the *English* force alone ; after this, *Jaffier* sent word that he had sworn to *Serajah Dowla* on the *Koran* not to fight against them, therefore he could not assist him, but would not act against the *English* ; *Clive* determined to attempt it, and with his small army obtained a complete victory.

When *Clive* settled the treaty with *Meer Jaffier*, and invested him with the dignity of *Soubah* as a reward for his treachery to *Serajah Dowla*, the ability and decision of *Clive* were manifested in obtaining his consent to certain conditions under which the Company could enjoy all its former privileges, and a farther security suited to the unsettled state of the provinces ; *Clive* was then obliged to negotiate and even purchase from *Meer Jaffier* concessions which would have baffled all his success if they had been made original conditions. On his return to *Europe*, among other charges, a loan of £.25,000 to *Meer Jaffier* was adduced, which he justified in the follow-

ing words * : “ The real fact is, (if I may be supposed to know it, who then presided over the Company’s affairs in *Bengal*,) by the ninth article of the treaty with the *Nabob*, the Company’s possessions would have been of little consequence to them unless we were allowed to put not only our own construction on the words of the article, but also to have an *additional* quantity of land to the northward, to the amount of near £.12,000 *per annum* : in order to accomplish this, we not only were obliged to comply with the *Nabob*’s request, made at that particular time, but also to make presents to several of the principal officers about him to engage his consent to this grant, which he was not bound to make by treaty. I *believe* the Directors know very well, if not, I am *sure* the Governor and Council are well apprized of what consequence it was to the Company to obtain the lands north of *Calcutta*. I will venture to affirm, had the *Nabob* desired a loan of money at any other time but this, his request would not have been complied

* *Clive*’s Letter to the Proprietors, 1764, p. 26.

with. The unfortunate *Meer Jaffier* was a stranger to distress until I had left the country ; it was when the *King's* son and a large body of *Mabrattabs* invaded and ravaged his country for a twelvemonth together, and had stopt the receipt of great part of his revenues ; it was then the *Nabob* began, for the first time, to experience the misfortune of distress ; yet it was not so great, but his successor was able immediately to bestow on the Company *eight lacks*, to carry on the war on the coast of *Coromandel*."

There can be very little doubt but *Meer Jaffier* intended to be in fact the *Soubab*, independant of the *Mogul*, by the aid of the *Englisb*. Governor *Holwell* certainly had not disguised his opinion, that the Company ought to be *Soubab*, in one of his letters to Colonel Caillaud, dated June 14, 1760*. " Had it ever been my wish or intention to have taken our support from the present *Nabob*, and transfer it to another, your arguments in that case would

* *Holwell's India Tracts*, p. 51.

have all the weight with me they so greatly merit; but I think on the representations in mine to you, and the copy of mine to Mr. *Amyat*, you will see that it was not my aim, for I concur minutely with your objections to such a step, and am clear we should not mend our situation by a revolution in favour of any other, who would, you truly observe, prove as bad as the present, and probably worse; but my views for the Company went much higher.— That the country will never be in a settled peaceful state, while this family is at the head, is a position I lay down as incontestible; and that, until the country enjoys that state, the Company's affairs must be daily approaching to certain ruin: I therefore judge we could never be possessed of a more favourable opportunity to carry into execution, what must be done, I plainly see, one time or other, (if the Company have ever a secure footing in the provinces), to wit, take this country into their own hands; limiting ourselves to the province of *Bengal* only, or extending our views to those of *Babar* and *Orisa*, as on future debate might be thought most eligi-

ble. The situation of the Prince (*Mogul*), at present, is such, that I am sure he would readily and heartily hearken to any overture from us; and, without hesitation, grant a *Phirmaund*, appointing the Company perpetual *Soubahs* of the country; his two *Phirmaunds* to me, as I before advised you, offered a *Carte Blanche* for the Company, and I dare say the one to you was of the same tenor."

Without entering into the contest of the parties of that day, it is evident that treaties, or reports of treaties alarmed the Governor of *Calcutta*; that the retreat of *Abdallah* before the *Vizir* encouraged *Meer Jaffier* to seek the aid of 30,000 *Mahrattas*, at that time, assembled in two bodies; the one in *Cattack*, and the other at *Sitana-gur**; and the assistance of the *Vizir*, to drive *Sbah Zadda* from the provinces; it was determined to remove *Meer Jaffier*: when obliged to abdicate, he said "that he was betrayed; that the *English* were guilty of perjury and breach of faith; that he

* Letter of Mr. Hastings, June 1760.

perceived their designs against his Government; and he had friends enow to hazard, at least, one battle in his defence; but although no oaths were sacred enough to bind the *English*, yet, as he had sworn to be their friend, he would never swerve from his engagements, but rather suffer death than draw his sword against them. This at least must be called an evasion of treaty. *Meer Cossim*, recommended by Governor *Holwell* and Mr. *Hastings* in 1760*, as a noble, good, and brave man, to succeed the *Nabob*, was proclaimed *Soubah*, when they forced *Meer Jaffier*, his father-in-law, to resign the Government; he also had soon occasion to express himself to Mr. *Vanfittart*, in a letter dictated by a sense of the deepest injuries. “ Sir, though it is agreed by the treaty between us, that I should never say any thing in behalf of the servants or dependants of the Company, nor you gentlemen interfere in behalf of the servants and dependants of the *Nizamut*; yet you gentlemen have regarded all this as utterly ob-

* *Vanfittart*, Vol. I. p. 75, *Nabob's* Letter to Mr. *Holwell*, p. 40.

literated, and in contradiction thereto persist in the violation of the treaty, and desire to raise *your own name* and establish *your own customs*. I am remediless *."

The *Nabob*, however, took the true and sensible mode to save his country, when he could not save his revenue; this he stated in answer to Messrs. *Amyatt* and *Hays's* demands in the following words: "As I have nothing to do with customs or duties on any kind of goods from any merchant whatever, and have wholly exempted them for two years to come, ye may engage in whatever trade ye please; nor will any meddle or interfere therein; after the time of exemption is expired, every officer will *again interfere* for duties; then ye will prove your rights from grants, and I will answer you †." At this period, it is evident that the Company could not legally raise a shilling by *customs* on the country, and their relation to their fellow subjects

* *Vanfittart*, Vol. III. p. 206, *Nabob's Letter*, May 2, 1763.

† *Ibid*, Vol. III. 229.

was limited by their Charter and Parliament. This resolution however was the crisis ; and this act of rebellion was the signal for a revolution which plunged the provinces in war, and restored *Meer Jaffier* to the Government.

Meer Cossim deserves, at least, justice in the page of history ; his government deserves the close and impartial examination of the Board of Control ; the revenues of *Great Britain* in *British India* stand on the foundation which he maintained ; and the Company cannot serve their own interest and the interest of the public in *Europe* and in *India*, unless it forgets its own pretensions, and faithfully discharges its agency of the customs on behalf of the State ; by which, as I have before observed, a good system of imposts can alone be established and simplified.

I shall proceed to investigate, in a few more examples, the degree of weight which the contracting parties in *India* gave to the treaties, because this year they are not considered as objects of regret, but are

recommended to the humanity and the justice of the *British* nation *, by the high authority of Mr. *Dundas*, by the plans for *India*, and by Mr. *Russell*.

It is clearly stated in Mr. *Amyatt's* minute †, “ The *Sunnuds* by which we hold our late acquisitions are only *Tuncarws*, or an assignment of these provinces, towards the defraying the expences of a certain body of troops, to be kept up for the assistance of the *Nabob*. In the present temper of the *Nabob*, this, so weak a title, can hardly fail of proving a fresh source of dispute ; he already shews a total disinclination to the use of our troops, and may, whenever he thinks himself in a condition to call our right in question, tell us he has no longer occasion for them, therefore will withdraw that revenue ; to prevent such pleas on the part of the *Soubah*, and to establish our rights to these lands as to *Jageers*, by the fullest and most *authentic*

* Introduction, p. xxxii.

† *Vanfittart*, Vol. II. p. 269. Mr. *Amyatt's* Minute, 15th February, 1763.

Sunnuds, and such that hereafter may be ever indisputable, should other *European nations* come to take part in the affairs of *Bengal*, seems a point extremely requisite to be now considered: the Company, for want of this matter being clearly explained, most probably suppose that the *present Sunnuds* are of the most extensive and indisputable kind, whereas, in fact, *our force* more than *title* can support us in the possession of them." We have a farther confirmation of the real importance of the native grants at that time, in a note of Governor *Vanfittart* to the above minute*.

"The nature of the *grants* by which the Company possess those lands is of very little moment; it is by the treaty with the *Nabob* they are ceded, and as long as that treaty of friendship and alliance subsists, *he* cannot dispute their right; if a breach of that friendship happens, and a war break out, he will dispossess us if he is able, and that he would if we had the *King's Firmaund*; therefore the form of the grant is

* *Vanfittart*, Vol. II. p. 269. Mr. *Amyatt's* Minute, 15th February, 1763.

of no consequence; and this will be found to be the opinion of *all* the Council when they entered into a new treaty with *Meer Jaffier*, at which time none of them thought there was any necessity of demanding *Jaghire Sunnuds*."

It appears, however, from the negotiations with *Meer Jaffier*, that the Company's servants required grants more extensive than *Jageer* in behalf of the Company; and "*Meer Jaffier* objected to the words, 'that the three provinces shall be invested in the Company for ever;' alledging that, in fact, it is not material to the Company, as any future *Nabob*, who was inclined and able to dispute the Company's possessions, might insist it was a cession which he had no right to make; and that the same might be objected to his prejudice by the *King* if he comes to be established at *Delhi*, and therefore desire the article may remain as formerly*." The testimony of Lord *Clive*† does not invalidate

* *Vanfittart's Narrative*, Vol. III. p. 356.

† Letter to the Proprietors of *East-India Stock*, 1764.

this statement; he informs the Proprietors, that when the *Nabob Meer Jaffier*, in 1759, notified by *Jagger Seat* that he was made an *Omrab*, he inquired where the *Jageer* usually annexed to that dignity was located, to which he was answered, that the *Nabob* never granted *Jageers* in *Bengal*, that *Orissa* was too poor, but that he might have one in *Bahar*; but it was only after the success of the *English* over the King's son he was informed of the amount, and that it was granted in *Bengal*. Lord *Clive* observes, " It gave me the greater pleasure to find it to be the *lordship* of the Company's lands, because the Company was thereby freed from all dependance on Government." " The lands ceded to the Company by the ninth article of the treaty with *Meer Jaffier* were only ceded as perpetual *Zemindars*, or renters, the *Nabob* reserving the lordship and quit-rent, which amounted to £.30,000 a year, and the Company could never be lawfully dispossessed so long as they continued to pay that quit-rent." It was then the lordship and rents so reserved that the *Nabob* transferred to Lord *Clive*, and no prejudice

arose to the Company's revenue*; the grant passed all the usual forms of the country, was founded on the very same authority with that the Company had for all their acquisitions, the *power of a Soubab*; yet in May, 1764, the Directors apply the reasoning of Mr. *Amyatt's* minute to suspend the payment of Lord *Clive's* *Jageer*. Mr. *Sullivan* informed the President of *Fort William*, "that all cordiality being at an end with Lord *Clive*, the Court of Directors had stopped payment of the *Jageer*;" and in effect the Directors ordered this *Jageer* to be carried to their *own* account, and announce that his Lordship's pretensions shall be settled in *London*; on which Lord *Clive* observes, "the Directors at once boldly affirm my *Jageer* to be determined by the removal of *Meer Jaffier* from the throne, since the grant, as they alledge, did not bind his successor, without the least consideration of the natural inference such an assertion would produce †."

* Letter to the Proprietors of *East-India* Stock, p. 36.

† Ibid. p. 52.

It was not therefore without reason Lord *Clive*, on his return to *India*, in 1765, was impressed with the arbitrary distinctions in the construction of a *Soubah's* grants acquired for the *English*, grants from the *Mogul* of all the territory in which the *British* armies had disputed the power of *France* and of usurpers. But we are now told that humanity calls on *Great Britain* to attend to the feelings and prejudices of the natives, by giving effect to treaties they understand, and which are connected with their well-being; to this error I shall only adduce the testimony of the Governor and Select Committee of *Bengal* to the Directors, January 31, 1766. "To us it evidently appears, there remained but the alternative to advance as we have done and grasp at the whole power, or shrink back into our primitive condition of simple merchants; to abandon our possessions, disband our forces, and rest our future hopes on the clemency of Princes who will not easily forget or forgive the superiority we have maintained; in a word, this last measure was impracticable, for we must observe, although with much regret, that

the misconduct of individuals hath rendered the *English* name so *odious*, that we are no longer secure than while our hands are armed for the defence of our lives and properties *."

The ceremony with which the Company was invested with the *Derwanne*, is stated by the gentlemen who were sent from *Calcutta* for that purpose, in a letter to the Select Committee, dated April 30, 1766. " We thought it by no means advisable to deviate, upon slight occasions, from the established forms and customs of the anniversary of the *Poonah*, and, therefore, accepted, for ourselves and for you, the usual presents of a dress and *elephant* to each ; which shall be forwarded by the first opportunity. This expence hath formerly been charged to the Government ; it must therefore now be brought to the Company's account ; but, as the amount is very inconsiderable, it is scarce worth while to introduce any innovation to lessen our dig-

* Appendix to the Report of the *East-India* Company, 1772, No. 46.

nity in the eyes of the people*.” After which the seal of the Company’s Government bore an inscription, of which the following is a translation:

“ The Magnificent Merchants of the *East-India* Company ; the *Dewans* of the Magnificent Provinces of *Bengal*, *Bahar*, and *Orissa* ; Servants of the Bold King, *Shaw Allum* †.”

On the 30th September, 1765, Lord *Clive* had given an account of his success to the Directors ; in which he clearly defines the conditions and the benefit of his arrangement. He says, “ The allowance for the support of the *Nabob*’s dignity and power, and the tribute to his Majesty, must be regularly paid ; the remainder belongs to the Company :” but, in May 1770, the *Bengal* Select Committee considered the propriety of curtailing these allowances, on account of the famine. “ It appearing

* *East-India* Reports, Vol. II. p. 18.

† Ibid. Vol. I. p. 161. A Short History of *English* Transactions from 1756 to 1763.

to the Committee highly necessary and reasonable, that the tribute, stipends, and all extraordinary issues whatever, should give place to the more urgent calls of Government ;” and the letter to *Richard Becher*, Esq. then Resident at the *Durbar*, convey the order : “ With concern we observe the great and alarming disproportion of your receipts to your disbursements ; and, at the same time, we lament the calamities of the country. In conjunctures like this, necessity compells us to make the conveniences of dependants, and even the letter of engagements, subservient to the exigences of the state ;” “ It would be a ridiculous and unprecedented maxim to regard any *tribute* or stipend before the support of our own Government ; the exact sum which should be withheld from each article, we would not precisely determine, but we expect you will, at least, keep back 30 lacks, between this period and the 17th of October * ;” and the Directors in 1771 confirm this principle, and order

* Appendix, Report of Committee of Secrecy, 1772, No. 4.

farther reduction of the Ministers' allowances. " At a time when every *justifiable* measure should be adopted, for availing the public and the Company of all the advantages, we had in prospect, from the possession of the *Dewanee*, we cannot but reflect on the dissipation of a considerable part thereof by the allowances to the *Nabob's* Ministers, &c*."

These instances may suffice. I shall, however, add two observations which will farther illustrate the circumstances of the provinces, at the periods separately considered in the preceding review of the financial arrangements of the Company.

When the *East-India* Company in 1698, asserted the pretensions which Mr. *Russell* has revived, they informed Parliament, that, in some royal charters, they had been denominated *Lords Proprietors* of *Bombay* and *St. Helena*, possessions vested in the Crown, as Dower to the Queen of Charles the Second. The total produce of

* Appendix, Report of Committee of Secrecy, 1772, No. 2.

those settlements and the factories of Fort George, Fort St. Davids, Bengal, Sumatra, and Persia, including customs, and licences to sell spirituous liquors, amounted to 44,000l *.

In 1760 the Company's military and other charges in Bengal amounted to 200,000l. *per annum*, and their net revenue did not exceed 80,000l †.

In the present year, the net sum of the landed estates and customs of the Company, viz. Calcutta and its *Pergunnahs*, Madras and its *Jageer*, the five Northern *Circars*, the Islands of Bombay and St. Helena, Cuddalore, Pinang, and Bencoolen, are stated by Mr. Russell ‡ and by Mr. Dundas § to produce a gross income of 500,000l. a year, or 400,000l. a year net income, being at least 250,000l. a year,

* Parliamentary Debates, 1698, and *Anderson's History of Commerce*.

† *Vanfittart*.

‡ Short History, p. 36.

§ Parliamentary Debates, 1793, and Sketch of Mr. Dundas's Speech referred to, Introduction, p. xxxix.

after allowing its due proportion for the general defence. Mr. *Russell* confines his inquiry to the merits which relate to the town, port, and district of *Massulipatam*, and to the five Northern *Circars*, from a persuasion that they will be found intrinsically of the first importance, among the other claims with which they are classed; and, because by an investigation and discussion of the merits whereon the legal right to these districts seem to depend, it is not improbable but some rule or principle may be established with regard to all, or some of the others *. Accordingly we find that the gross rent of the Northern *Circars* is estimated by Mr. .

<i>Russell</i> † at	- - - - -	240,000
The <i>Guntoor Circar</i> , at	- -	90,000
		<hr/>
		330,000

From which gross rent he deducts the net rent paid to the

<i>Nizam</i>	- - - - -	70,000
		<hr/>

There remains therefore gross rent 260,000

* Short History, page 54.

† Ibid. page 34.

I have already shewn * the amount of the real value of the revenues of the Northern *Circars*.

In the next place, Mr. *Russell* considers, as the Company's estates,

1. Those possessed by the Company prior to 1755, as stated in the Third Report of the Secret Committee, 1772.

2. The territories and revenues ceded to the Company by the *Mogul*, the *Nabob*, of *Arcot*, and the *Soubah* of the *Decan*, viz. the *Purgunnabs* and *Zemindary* of *Calcutta*, the ceded lands *Midnapore* and *Chittagong* †, the district of *Massulipatam*, the five Northern *Circars*, and the *Jaggeer* lands at *Madras*.

These are Mr. *Russell*'s debatable lands.

3. The provinces of *Bengal*, *Bahar*, and part of *Orissa*, terminated by the *Cattack*,

* Vide page 240.

† In the 2d edit. Mr. *Russell* inserted the ceded lands, which, I believe, he had forgot in his 1st edition.

the district of *Benares*, the countries in the *Carnatic*, and on the *Malabar* coast, lately obtained by treaty from *Tippoo Sultaun*. All these territories, acquired by conquest, according to Mr. *Russell*, are claims of the public, as property of the state, on a maxim of law, that all territories obtained by conquest vest in the Crown.

To this arbitrary division I substitute two.

1. All settlements made for the purpose of trade, and for its security, at any time, by the Company, under the authority of Royal Charters, whether granted by *Sunnud*, by native princes, or by their permission, purchased from native landholders adjoining to their settlements, as in the instance of thirty-seven villages contiguous to *Calcutta*, constitute the territorial estate of the Company.

2. All territory not specially for the purposes of trade, obtained by conquest, grant, or treaty; and all revenues arising therefrom, and to which acts of sove-

reignty necessarily attach, whether for the purposes of police, or protection of property, constitute the property of the *crown* in behalf of the state, subject to the control of the Legislature; and the Executive Government and Parliament must be equally vigilant, when the rights of the Sovereign are attempted to be sequestered or eluded, as when the Company, under permission either of *British* or native Government to purchase, shall seize lands without the consent of its owners.

The whole of Mr. *Russell's* case rests on his distinguishing *Massulipatam* from the *Circars*: he has given a detailed narrative of the acquisition of those districts; and in another section he has related the acquisition of the *Circars*. He admits the right of the King of *England* in the first case, founded on conquest*: “because *Massulipatam* had been held as a *Fief* of the *Indian* Empire, and that the change of hands could not alter the rights of the *Mogul* or his *Soubah*, as the paramount Lords. We

* Short History, p. 65.

are ready to admit, that the King, by his prerogative, must, of necessity, be the *summus Dominus supra omnes* over all territories held by him ; that lands in his possession are free from every tenure ; that he can neither be a joint tenant with another, nor hold of another ; but with this admission, and though in fact the *Soubah* had taken no part in the hostilities between the *English* and the *French*, they being feudatories of the *Soubah*, it must, to every legal intent, be held as levying war against that power also ; and, that by the conquest, the sovereignty, as well as the soil, became instantly annexed to the Crown of *England*. If the *French* had themselves the sovereignty, the legal effect would have been the same. The subsequent agreement by Colonel *Ford* with *Salabut Jung*, could not change or vary the nature of the King's title to *Massulipatam* once acquired ; nor under the charter of 1757, could the Company restore it, because they were restrained from ceding back any acquisitions belonging to the *European* states. The treaty of peace in 1763 completely established the right of the King, the *French* having

thereby renounced all their acquisitions on the coast, except their factories, which alone were restored to them."

Mr. *Russell* admits, that Mr. *Buffy* had obtained from the *Soubab, Salabut Jung*, for the *French*, the *Five Circars*, as well as *Massulipatam*. It is not necessary to argue that Colonel *Ford*, by his conquering the *French* at *Massulipatam*, dispossessed the *French* of the *Circars*. Lord *Clive* told the Proprietors that * "the reduction of *Massulipatam*, the *Four Northern Provinces*, and the making all the *French* army there prisoners, greatly contributed to our success at *Fort George* ;" if any agreement was entered into by Colonel *Ford* with *Salabut Jung* to retain only *Massulipatam*, on his own confession the agreement was void, it being contrary to the charter of 1757, to restitute. The negotiations of Mr. *Alexander* with *Nizam Alli* in 1760, and the rejection of his *Sumuds*, cannot have any weight ; if founded on political wisdom, it arose from the Company not accepting

* *Clive's* Letter to the Proprietors, p. 8.

a worse title from the usurper than they had by conquest; and if the treaty of *Paris* * is referred to in support of our right, how comes Mr. *Russell* to forget, that *Salabut Jung* is guaranteed by that treaty to be the lawful *Nizam*? In one page Mr. *Russell* says, “ it appears, that so early as 1760, *Nizam Ally*, who, in consequence of his brother, being deserted by the *French*, had assumed the *Soubahship*, visited the *Circars*, and was attended at *Rajamundrum* by Mr. *Alexander*.” In the next, † “ The new *Soubah*, *Nizam Ally*, derived his right to the Government of the *Decan*, under a grant from the *Mogul* ;” in 1764 the *Madras* Government open a negotiation with the *Soubah*, *Nizam Ally*, for a grant of the *Circars*, which failed; and in 1765 Lord *Clive* obtained the grant from the *Mogul*, on which he acted. Mr. *Russell* says, “ War, however, was, if possible, to be avoided; treachery, chicanery, and bribery were substituted as safer instruments ‡.”

* Mr. *Russell* calls it the Treaty of *Versailles*.

† Short History, p. 64 and 65. ‡ Ibid. p. 67.

The fort of *Condipelly* was a post necessary to command the principal pass from *Ellore* to *Hyderabad*, this, Mr. *Russell* says, “ most probably was a *device* concerted to create a panic in the *Nizam* ;” “ this ~~was~~ ^{is} an act of taking possession of the defenceless fort of *Condipelly* and the *pass* cannot surely be deemed a conquest of the *Circars* ; it is much to be doubted if that fort is deemed a part of the *Circars* * :” it is extraordinary that Mr. *Russell* should not remember that *Condapillee* and *Mustapha Nagur* are synonymous names of one of the *Circars* ; but he farther observes, “ it might as well be argued, that by the capture of *Breda* the *French* had accomplished the conquest of the United Provinces, as that a country 600 miles in length on the sea coast was conquered by taking the Hill Fort situated at the western extremity of it.” Such reasoning can be of little weight, for the cases are not parallel, from the difference of the natural barriers in the two countries ; besides, it is not necessary to prove that the *Circars* were twice conquered,

* Short History, p. 71.

because Mr. *Russell*, from the same authority by which he proves * that *Massulipatam* under the *French* was “distinct from the places dependant on it, as well as from the subsequent acquisitions of the *French* in the *Northern Circars*,” might find distinct evidence of the contrary position. Mr. *Dupleix*’s celebrated address to the *French* nation, adduces evidence of the political importance, and of the geographical division, of the country in question. Mr. *Dupleix*, on his review of the proposed equalization of the *English* and *French* Companies in *India*, in the time of Governor *Godeheu* and Governor *Saunders*, observes, that *Massulipatam*, from its situation, is the key to the northern commerce of the *Decan* †. It was also then stated to the *Syndics* and *Directors* of the *French* Company, that the giving *Massulipatam* and *Divi* to obtain quiet possession of *Nizam-patam* and *Condavir*, would be like renouncing *Flanders*, *Burgundy*, and *Alsace*, to keep *Lorraine* ‡. Mr. *Russell* perhaps

* Short History, p. 60, refers to *Dupleix* Mem.

† *Memoire de M. de Moracin*, p. 95,

‡ Mem. concernant l’Etat, &c. dans les *Indes*, p. 67.

did not recollect that the statements of the revenues of the distinct parts of the *French* possessions refer merely to that negociation, and Mr. *Dupleix* expressly states that *Massulipatam* and its dependencies form a part of the province of *Raja Mundry**; consequently, driving out the *French* in 1759, and taking possession of *Massulipatam*, was, in fact, taking possession of the northern provinces: and in the year 1765, the Company being in possession of *Massulipatam*, the taking possession of the fort of *Condipelly* and the pass, under the *Mogul's* grant, was all that was necessary to secure the whole *Northern Circars*, without renewal of hostilities with the *French*. Mr. *Russell* admits the *Mogul's Sunnuds* were then published, and every *Zemindar* immediately acknowledged the Company as their sovereign †.

In vain will Mr. *Russell* puzzle among the negociations with *Salabut Jung* subsequent to the conquest of the *Circars* in

* *Memoire de Dupleix*, p. 142. Observations sur les Articles.

† *Short History*, p. 68.

1759; the statements printed by the Company and by *Orme*, and the dispatches of Colonel *Ford*, all differ; but Mr. *Russell* may see in *Orme* that the *Madras* Government sent a commercial chief to *Massulipatam*, and that Colonel *Ford* waited for the orders of *Clive*, this military and political operation having been conducted by his sole direction. Mr. *Russell* forgets the unlimited powers delegated to *Clive* when he was detached in 1757 to re-possess the *English*, who were driven on board their ships; he cannot seriously suppose that in the critical situation of the *English* affairs in *Bengal*, *Clive* would have detached half his army into the *Decan* only to establish a factory at *Massulipatam*, when they had not a shilling to make an investment: in September, 1758, he sent 420 *Europeans* and 1,400 seapoys, and incurred the expence of half a million sterling; and in *Bengal*, *Clive* took the field in March, 1759, with only 400 *Europeans* and 2,500 seapoys*. *Clive* meant no such statement when he informed the proprietors that “ the re-

* *Scrafton's Sketch*, p. 117, 119.

duction of *Massulipatam*, the *four northern provinces*, and the making all the *French* army there prisoners, greatly contributed to our success at *Fort St. George* * ;” there the *French* “ met with a resistance suitable to the importance of the object ; and I am persuaded that Messrs. *Pigott*, *Lawrence*, *Draper*, and many other gentlemen of that garrison, would have been buried under its ruins sooner than have surrendered the place † .” The confidence of men of honour at the head of the *British* interests in *India* at that time made up for the inferiority of force, and the ignorance of their employers, and of the nation : if it requires more to shew the ability of *Clive* and the importance of the *Circars* in his estimation, I may add, that at the time he had detached so great a part of his force to the *Circars*, seven *Dutch* ships with 600 *European* and more native troops landed in *Bengal* ; Colonel *Ford* having given up his command in the *Decan*, was employed to prevent the junction of this suspiciously

* *Clive's* Letter to the Proprietors, 1764.

† *Ibid.*

well-timed reinforcement, from joining the *Dutch* factory; he gained a complete victory over them, and the *Dutch* were incapacitated from embroiling farther the affairs of the *English*. In their memorials the *Dutch*, in 1762, claim their privileges under the *Mogul's Phirmaund*, and contended that the *Nabob* was only a governor of the provinces, and was not authorised to infringe the *Mogul's* grant. The Directors, in their memorial to the King, answer, that the *Nabob* of *Bengal*, from the *Mogul's* inability to maintain his rights, was *de facto*, whatever he might be *de jure*, a sovereign Prince, or at worst not a *Viceroy*, but a tributary to the *Mogul**.

Mr. *Russell*; however, in his first edition, modestly, “with submission to better judges,” states the *Circars* being held merely as a *farm* under *Nizam Alli*, at a rent of about £.70,000 a year, to stand on similar footing with the *Jageer* lands; but in his second edition, he concludes his elaborate additional chapter, “upon the

* *Clive's* Letter to the Proprietors, 1764, p. 50.

whole, we retain the opinion formerly given in the third chapter, that in point of law the Crown and the public have no claim against the Company in the *Northern Circars*, and that they are held by the Company as *Jageerdars* to the *Mogul*, (a species of military tenure by which they are to furnish a number of cavalry determinable by the King's books,) paying at the same time, by voluntary compact, a fixed tribute to the *Soubah* of the *Decan*, who is the *nominal* Viceroy and representative of the *Mogul* in those parts." All this refinement will vanish before the true historical and political facts. The *Mogul's* grant in 1765 came subsequent to the conquest in 1759; no act of the *Madras* Government was valid for restitution of conquests made from the *French*; having connected the *Mogul's* grant in point of date, according to Mr. *Russell's* deductions, I shall conclude " that the law hath cast the legal estate by the conquest upon the King; and any grants made subsequent to the King's title once acquired, though made by the conquered party and former owner to the real conqueror, are unavail-

able, and cannot operate to divest the King of what he had been previously invested with *." The tedious negotiation to avert farther warfare, led to an agreement with the *Nizam* in 1766; the grant or *fageer* which he had given to his brother *Baxalet Jung* was allowed to continue during his life, with an annual subsidy or rent of nine lacks, which ought to have been discontinued in August, 1767, when the *Nizam* openly joined the army of *Hyder* at *Bangalore*; for the payment to the *Nizam* was not to acquire a right, but to purchase amity and peace. If right guaranteed by treaty had decided, and the *Mogul's* grant had been laid aside, *Salabut Jung*, and not *Nizam Alli*, must have been the Sovereign to treat with, according to the treaty of *Paris*; but I heartily agree with Mr. *Russell*, that "to raise a question at this day on the efficacy of the *Mogul's* grant to the Company would be absurd and preposterous, as striking at the very root of their titles to various parts of our possessions in *India*†." To satisfy Mr. *Russell's* and the

* Short History, p. 70. † Ibid.

public's geographical doubts, I shall make an extract from Mr. *Grant's* political survey of the *Northern Circars*, an official report made to the *Bengal* Government after his return from an official residence at the court of the *Nizam*. This work, being equally accessible to Mr. *Russell* as other documents which he has adopted, should have saved me the disagreeable office of commenting on his error.

CHAP. XVI.

A POLITICAL AND HISTORICAL VIEW OF THE NORTHERN CIRCARS.

Extent and Boundary.

THAT portion of the *British* dominion on the *Coromandel* coast commonly called the *Northern Circars*, from its relative situation to *Fort St. George*, is a narrow strip of maritime country extending from $51^{\circ}\frac{1}{2}$ to the 20th degree of north latitude; and from $79^{\circ}\frac{1}{2}$ to $85^{\circ}\frac{1}{2}$ east longitude

from *Greenwich*. The sea bounds it to the *East* in a direct course N. E. $\frac{1}{2}$ E., along a coast 470 measured miles in length, from *Mootapillee*, dependant on *Guntour*, near its southern extremity, to the town of *Maloud* in *Orissa*, on the borders of the *Chilka* lake. In almost a parallel direction on the *West*, from fifty to seventy miles in land, it is divided from the interior provinces of the *Soubah* of *Hydrabad* by a range of small detached hills extending to the banks of the *Goadaveri*; and in like manner separated from *Berar*, to the north of that river, by a great continued ridge of mountains, impassable, every where hitherto explored, for horse or wheel carriage, excepting in the middle near *Salour-gaut*, quite in the northern extremity of the *Circars* at *Goomsur*. From this last place the same unbroken chain curves to the eastward, and together with the *Chilka* lake, form an almost impenetrable barrier of fifty miles to the *North*, on the side of the *Mahrattas* of *Cuttack*, excepting a tongue of land, between that lake and the sea, a mile in breadth at *Maloud*, and intersected by the deep water communication of *Manicpatam*, at all times.

unfordable. Towards the *south*, the small river *Gondegama*, which empties itself at *Mootapillee*, separates the territory we are describing, from the districts of *Ongole*, and thus formeth, on that side, the most distinguishable modern frontier to the *Car-natic Payengaut*.

The *Area*, or superficial contents of the *Circars*, taken in their greatest extent of accessible, productive land, may be computed at 17,000 square geographic miles; of which, perhaps, only *one fifth* in cultivation or fallow; *twice* that proportion in pasture, and the *remainder* woods, water, towns, barren hills, or a sandy waste, three miles in breadth, bordering the whole extent of the coast. By another division, *three fourths* of this area may be considered a *plain*, rising no where more than 25 feet above the level of the sea, and stretching on a medium 35 miles inland, with only two remarkable interruptions in its greatest length along the shore, by as many cross, or rather inclined ridges of hills; the one a few miles north of the river *Settiaveram*, which forms the southern boundary of

Cicacole; and the other, parting unequally that province, at the river *Poondy*, into its present subdivisions, dependant on *Vizagapatam* and *Ganjam*: the remaining *fourth portion*, parallel to this plain, and farther inland about 15 miles, is much more elevated, is agreeably variegated with hills and vales, easy of access, and superabundantly fertile. But beyond both these tracts of plain and hilly ground, to the north of the *Goadaveri*, a still higher region extends close to the great ridge of mountains on the confines of *Berar*. This comprehends at least 6000 square miles additional; but being poor, unhealthy, and thinly inhabited, pays so slender a tribute, that it is scarcely made any account of, unless as a frontier towards the *Mahrattab* Dominions on the N. W. almost wholly inaccessible.

Six Provincial Divisions.

THE grand divisions of this whole territory are naturally and properly *five*; being so many portions of its length, princi-

pally marked by rivers, running across from the hills on the west to the sea ; but besides these, a *sixth* district has been formed from the maritime border of the four southerly *Circars* or Provinces, to serve as an appendage to, and secure the salt made, or customs collected at, the ports of *Nizam-patam*, on a southern outlet of the *Kistna*, and of *Massulipatam* on one of its northern branches, as well as at their respective dependencies along the coast.

1. *Guntour*, or *Moorteza-nagur*, the most southerly province, is of a circular form, comprehending an area of 2500 square miles. The river *Kistna*, after running a course of 600 miles, nearly on the parallel of $16^{\circ}\frac{1}{2}$ latitude, from its source on the *Balagaut* hills, near the coast of *Malabar*, forms the northern boundary of this *Circar*, and separates it, in its greatest extent on that side, from the province of *Musta-fanagur*. The boundaries to the *West* and *South*, are the districts of *Palnaud* and *On-gole*, formerly dependant on the *Fougedurry* of *Kerpah*, but sometime since incorporated with the *Carnatic Payengaut*, and on the

East, Nizampatam, with its dependencies, intervene every where between it and the sea, excepting a narrow communication with the small port of *Mootapille*, which, in the confusion of frequent revolutions, has been dismembered from its proper maritime capital, and annexed to the interior country. This province therefore, generally speaking, is entirely surrounded by the other dominions of *Britain*, and absolutely detached from all the territory still claimed, and held formally, by the *Soubahdar* of the *Decan*, under the Crown of *Delhi*.

2. *Condapillee*, or *Mustafa-nagur* ; and, 3. *Ellore*, adjacent to each other, as well as to the *Circar* just described, in a N. easterly direction, occupy the whole space lying between the *Kistna* and the districts of *Nassulipatam* towards the sea, and the inland province of *Commamet* on the *West* ; and the *Iheel*, or lake of *Colare*, chiefly formed by the overflowings of those two rivers, with a parallel stream running through its centre to the sea coast at *Gollapollam*, would nearly divide the *Circars*

under consideration into two equal parts or squares of about 53 miles on every side, allowing for some inequalities, which, however, ought not to escape notice. *Condapillee*, along the north bank of the *Kistna*, stretches some of its straggling *Purgunnabs* to the west through *Commamet*, as far as *Mongal*, 120 miles from *Massulipatam*, and rather more than half way to *Hydrabad*; comprehending an area in the whole of about 3400 square miles. On the other hand, the river *Godaveri*, which describes the limits of *Ellore* northerly, curves so much in its greater branch to the south on approaching the sea, as to diminish considerably the east side of the square of this province; and though the district of *Polavaram*, dependent on *Rajemundry* among the hills, on the southern bank of the same river, be a farther encroachment on the regular bounds of *Ellore*, yet still its superficial contents cannot justly be estimated at less than 2700 square miles.

4. *Rajemundry*, towards the south, is, with the exception above mentioned, separated from *Ellore* in its greatest breadth by

the *Goadaveri*. This river, after receiving many lesser ones, from its source among the *Balagaut* mountains near *Bombay*, on the *Ma'abar* coast, and running a course east-southerly from thence about 700 miles, divides itself into two great branches 35 miles from the sea, within which is formed the island of *Nagur*; a triangular space comprehending only 500 square miles, but of greater value in proportion to its extent than perhaps any other spot in the *East*, without excepting the famed *Delta* of *Ægypt*. From the district of *Polaveram*, on the west, the great ridge of hills towards *Berar* limits this province; and the small river of *Settiaveram* running from thence to the sea, describes its *northern* boundary with *Cicacole*, including in all an area of 1700 miles of accessible country.

5. The districts of *Massulipatam* form the least of the grand divisions of the *Circars*, and, as hath been observed, are only portions of the maritime border dismembered, for certain uses, from the four provinces already described. *Nizampatam*, formerly a separate jurisdiction on the south

of the *Kisina*, extending along a coast of 60 miles, from *Point Divi*, near the great mouth of that river, to *Mootapillee* south, and about 5 in breadth on a medium to the territory of *Guntoor*, constitutes the *southern* portion of this division; and from the same head-land, including the island of *Divi*, to *Narsapore* on the southern arm of the *Goadaveri*, and from thence to *Ingeram* on its northern branch, just beyond the point formed by and deriving its name from this river, lye several *Pergunnahs* detached from *Condapillee*, and some lesser sea-ports scattered on the shores of *Ellore* and *Rajemundry*, together composing the *northern* subdivision, and extending along a coast of 105 miles, within 45 of *Pentacotah*, at the mouth of the *Settiaveram*, and boundary of *Cicacole*. Both these portions united may contain 700 square miles of land, immediately dependant on *Massulipatam*, which is not only the capital of these districts, but also the seat of a subordinate Government ruling the different provinces described, except *Guntour*, and is the principal fort or bulwark of all the northern *Circars*.

6. *Cicacole*, anciently *Kulling*, the most northerly and last in order of the grand divisions, is also subdivided into two districts; of which, one, deriving its name from that province, is dependant on *Vizagapatam*; the other, called *Ichapoor*, is placed under the chief and council of *Ganjam*. The former lies between the rivers of *Settiaveram* on the south, and of *Poondy* north; from the cross hills approaching the sea near those extremities, it forms a kind of amphitheatre, or semi-circular territory; of which the diameter along the coast extends 180 miles, and its greatest dimensions inland, to the high mountainous region on the west, about one third of the same distance, comprizing an area not less than 4400 square miles. The latter subdivision of this province, is of a triangular figure, stretching its longest side along the shore about 80 miles from *Poondy* to *Maloud*, the southern frontier of *Cuttack*, and its shortest to the angle at *Goamsur*, 50 miles in a west northerly direction towards *Berar*, containing near 1600 miles of superficial measure; exclusive of that portion of country, which, in this district,

as well as in all the others southward to the *Goadaveri*, we have assigned to the high inaccessible region, extending to the great ridge of boundary mountains on the west, in variable breadths. .

The *Climate* of the *Northern Circars*, with a general conformity to what is observable in other parts of *Hindostan*, North of the *Kistna*, has yet, from latitudinal extent of country, maritime situation, and position of the inland hills, some peculiarities in each of the *three seasons* of the year, worthy of remark. The *periodical rain* called by the natives *Bursant*, usually sets in about the middle of June, with a westerly wind, in moderate showers until the latter end of August, which month concludes the *Poonafs-fussul*, or small-grain harvest; and continues from this period in greater abundance to the beginning of November, when it generally breaks up with violence, and ushers in the *Zimmeftan*, or winter, with a strong north-easterly wind, greatly tempered, however, in its coldness, by the mild influence of the sea over which it blows. The *middle* of this latter and de-

lightful season, early in January, finishes the *Fussul-khereef* for rice and *Bajary*, which are the great productions of the country *North* of the *Goadaveri*, and, in like manner, its *close*, at the vernal equinox, terminates the third *Fussul* or *Rubbi-harvest*, the grand one for *Joary** or *Janaloo*, as well as for all the different species of grain or pulse, *South* of that river. Then commenceth the *Tabestan*, or hot season, which is always extremely moderate towards the *Northern* extremity of the *Circars*, near *Ganjam*, by reason of constant semidiurnal breezes from the sea, and the position of the neighbouring hills from south to west, contrary to the ordinary direction of the wind: about *Massulipatam* on the *south*, for the first two months, strong southerly gales along the shore, together with the sea breezes, moderate the heat; but the baleful influence of the former, in blowing over salt

* *Joary* and *Pelujary*, the former white, the other yellow and coarser, are a species of Maize with a large bushy top; in contradistinction to the *Mecca Joary* or Indian corn, which hath its grain growing in a conic form; as hath in like manner the *Bajary*, or Millet, on a longer and slenderer *Buhta* or ear.

stagnant marshes on the coast, is injurious to animal life, and absolutely destructive to vegetation ; during the succeeding month, and until the rains, the wind coming from the west, over a parched loose soil of great extent, uninterrupted by any continued chain of hills, and passing along the broad, and, at this time of the year almost dry, sandy bed of the *Kistna*, becomes so intolerably hot near the mouths of that river, as to raise the Thermometer, sometimes for a week together, to 110 degrees within the house, and seldom under 105 during the first part of the day. Another peculiarity of climate too often and fatally experienced in this country, is the noxious state of the air in all the hilly regions, throughout the different seasons of vegetation, which occasions the distemper called the *Hill-fever*. This generally mortal disorder has been sometimes ascribed to the *water*, impregnated, perhaps, with the poisonous quality of copper ore in passing over the mountains, or from springs issuing through unwholesome mineral earths ; and sometimes with equal probability it has been attributed to the corrupted juice of vegetables washed

down by torrents into the public reservoirs ; but the greatest operative cause is doubtless the grossness of the atmosphere, charged and contaminated with the exhalations of a luxuriant soil, pent up in vallies ; as seems to be clearly evinced by the prevalence of the same distemper even in the plains, where the richer crops of *Janaloo* are cultivated, and a free circulation of the air impeded by the luxuriancy of the proper growth of this plant, or by surrounding trees and villages.

The soil in all those provinces, along the coast, is chiefly sandy, improving gradually towards the hills. The same ground therefore seldom if ever yields more than a single crop of grain annually ; but there being every where an abundant supply of water, the one produced is generally extremely rich. For besides the boundary rivers already mentioned, which fertilize the country on either side, there are many lesser ones within each of the *Circars* running into the sea, or divided artificially into canals, and afterwards conducted into the tanks and greater reservoirs ; such are the streams pass-

ing through *Guntour*, and which, for the most part, collected near *Bopetla*, together with the overflowings of the *Kistna*, water the sands of *Nizampatam*; such also are the rivulets drawn from this great river and the *Goadaveri*, which uniting in the *Colare*, between the provinces of *Condapillee* and *Ellore*, are from thence diverted into numberless channels to water the circumjacent territory. In *Rajemundry* the *Yel-eru*, or *Yalore*, running parallel to, and not far south of, the *Settiaveram*, is, with uncommon intelligence and industry, subdivided, to answer the purposes of cultivation within the two principal *Zemindarries* of *Pedapore* and *Pettapore*, on its opposite banks; while the island of *Nagur*, or *Nagarum*, enclosed chiefly by the two greater branches of the *Goadaveri*, and intersected by five other lesser ones, is made wonderfully productive, not only by a constant and plentiful supply of the great element of vegetation, but from the acquisition of an extraordinary rich soil, in being thus, from situation, the grand receptacle of all the slimy mould carried down by the greatest river in the *Decan*. The southern sub-

division of *Cicacole*, with a better soil than is found in other parts of the *Circars*, is sufficiently watered by four interior rivers, which have their outlets at the respective ports of *Vizagapatam*, *Bimlipatam*, *Mapbusbunder*, or *Cicacole*, and *Calingapatam*, besides many lesser streams in the season of the rains, in advancing to the northwards; and in the territory of *Jebapoor*, the river of *Ganjam* uniting different branches from the vallies of *Vizianagur*, *Burragur*, and *Goomsur*, in the very centre of the whole district, in its greatest breadth at *Aska*, makes this portion of the province equally fruitful with the other, comparatively to its extent.

From the many advantages which we have already enumerated as common to the *Circars*, it may be expected that their *natural produce* will appear proportionate; nevertheless, the most useful classes of *animals* are found in greater abundance than variety, being almost wholly reducible to sheep, and the larger species of horned cattle; but the neighbouring sea and its numberless inlets abound with every kind

of *Indian* fish, a few excepted, together with some that are common to *Europe*, such as mullet, soal, and pomflet; the latter resembling most the turbot, if it be not exactly the same in miniature, is more peculiarly attached to this coast, and is turned to no inconsiderable benefit, when salted, for the inland markets. It is, however, in the grand and most necessary articles of *vegetable* production that this territory is particularly famous. In grain, the different sorts of which we have already had occasion to mention, it is properly the granary of the *Carnatic*, during the north-east monsoon, in like manner as *Tanjore* is reckoned on, for the other season of the periodical winds from the opposite point of the compass. Fruits, roots, and greens are scarce, and reared with difficulty to the south of the *Goadaveri*; and even to the north of that river, owing, no doubt, to the influence of the sea air, are neither so excellent in kind, nor are they to be met with in such plenty as in other parts of the *Decan*. It may farther be observed, that some of the articles of *second necessity*, such as sugar and cotton, are also

too scantily produced in *Rajemundry* and *Jehapoor*, for the general consumption of all the provinces ; while, on the other hand, bay salt and tobacco, the latter from the vicinity of *Massulipatam*, known every where for superior excellence, have exceeded of late years in quantity the home and foreign demand for both. But in the just estimation of a commercial people, all the partial disadvantages we have named, would be more than counterbalanced by a single *uncultivated production* of the greatest utility, if proper use was made of the forests of *Rajemundry* ; which, from the commencement of the hills along the banks of the *Goadaveri* to *Palouncha* on the frontiers of *Commamet*, yield a superabundance of the best and largest *Teak* timbers, so generally thought superior in quality even to oak, for the ship-building and navigation of the *Indian* seas. At present the *Coco* and *Palmyra*, or in the more northerly province the *Toomecara**, form the principal materials for constructing, in the diffe-

* This seems to be a species of the tree which produces the gum-arabic.

rent ports of the *Circars*, five hundred of those unweildy vessels called *Doonies* *, of various burthens, from 60 to 100 tons each. The diamond mines of *Guntour* and *Condapillee*, reserved by treaty to the *Nizam*, deserve barely to be mentioned as a rarity, not to be considered as of any great political consequence.

In regard to *Manufactures*, the staple produce of the country worked from cotton is of two different sorts and fineness: plain *long cloth*, so valuable at foreign markets, is chiefly wrought in the island of *Nagur* and its vicinity, where the manufacturers have always found a sure asylum from the ravages of war; it forms the ground work of the best printed calicoes in *Europe*, and of those inimitably painted ones called *Palampores*, in the districts of *Massulipetam*. The coarser plain cloths made to the north and south of the *Goada-veri*, or coloured with the *Chay-root*, which

* Coasting vessels of one and two masts, managed by native lascars or seamen, having a convex upper deck, with the view of resisting more effectually any incumbent waves.

is the madder of the *East*, and growing in most perfection in the pure sands annually overflowed by the *Kistna*, are equally articles in vast demand abroad, or for interior consumption. But the muslins of *Cicacole*, the beautiful woollen carpets of *Ellore*, and silks of *Burrampore* in *Ichapoor*, wrought from the raw materials imported from *Bengal* or *China*, are rather objects of curiosity and meriting encouragement, than considerable in quantity or benefit. Of this nature also is the *art* of painting or inlaying ivory and black wood in the cabinet work made at *Vizagapatam*. But the facility, convenience, and cheapness with which ships of war, or of burthen not exceeding five hundred tons, have been, and might in greater number be, constructed in the ports of *Coringa* and *Narsapore*, at the two principal mouths of the *Goadaveri*, are considerations of the utmost importance to a maritime state; nor should the extensive branch of ship-building at present in use, though with so much imperfection and improvidence, in supplying 50,000 tons in smaller craft for the coasting trade, be forgotten, in stating the more useful

arts, which at once form the proprietary and local interests of the country.

These several objects of natural or artificial produce, when united, form the grand resources of *commerce*, which in the *Circars* may be classed under three different heads; the trade to *Europe*, to neighbouring *Indian* ports, and the inland provinces of the *Decan*.

The first confined entirely to the finer cotton manufactures exported by *European* nations which have establishments on this coast, or purchased by other foreign adventurers, may amount in the whole, at prime cost, to *thirty* lacks of rupees, of which one half seldom finds its way to *England*, though a much greater quantity would be productive of a certain benefit of upwards of 100 *per cent*.

The second, or coasting trade, carried on almost entirely with *Madras*, since the late prohibition against importing bay salt into *Bengal*, consists either of *grain*, amounting annually to half a million of

bags, and valued on a medium at *twenty-five* lacks of rupees, including freight and other charges which return to the country; or, for the most part, in the coarser *cloths* proper for the Eastern market, and which may be estimated at *ten* lacks more.

The third branch, or interior commerce, in *salt* and *piece goods* of native production, or *copper* and *raw silk*, the latter chiefly from *Bengal*, leaves a balance of *ten lacks*, after deducting *half* that amount for returns of *cotton* and *wheat* received in barter from the *Lomballies* or inland carriers, and consumed within the *Circars*. And these are the various commercial benefits, computed in the gross at seventy-five lacks of rupees, which, in a flourishing period of seventeen years back, and most so under the late distractions in the *Carnatic*, have annually increased the hidden treasure or languid circulation of the parsimonious *Indians*; excepting an overplus never exceeding fifteen lacks, saved from a very disproportionate revenue, to liquidate the yearly gratuity paid to the

Nizam by treaty, or is remitted in specie to the Presidency of *Fort St. George*.

The native *inhabitants* of all these provinces, exclusive of a few thousand *Mahometans* dispersed in the principal towns, or among the more regular infantry and militia, are wholly *Hindoos*, and may, with great moderation, be numbered at *two millions and a half* under all denominations. They are composed, or rather they are parts, of the two nations of *Telinga* and *Oria, Worja, or Orissa*, formerly divided from each other by the *Goadaveri*, but since their union under the same government, a good deal mixed among themselves, as well as with some of the neighbouring tribes. Still, however, under a general religious conformity to the doctrines of the *Bedes*, as received in the *Decan*, they speak and write different dialects, apparently of the *Shanscrit* language, and have rites, customs, and characteristical traits, perfectly distinguishable from each other. The *four* great *casts*, or divisions of the people, as founded on spiritual authority, are therefore common to both countries, but with less devia-

tion from the original institutions in *Oria*, where *Braminical* abstinence from animal food, excepting fish, contrary to the practice of all the other *Decanees*, is pretty generally observed by the higher tribes of every class. Farther as these distinctions had equally a reference to the temporal, as well as religious, state, so even where the ancient rule, prohibitory of intermarriage, has been once, or oftener infringed; yet the different *casts* have been, in a manner, wholly preserved, and are sometimes most tenaciously adhered to in *civil* occurrences, among the *Sunker*, mixed, or bastard descendants of the primitive inhabitants. Thus, the *Bramins* continue to enjoy their pre-eminence and consideration among the other tribes, though always in proportion to the purity of their lives or outward sanctity; in like manner the *Rachewars*, *Rowwars*, and *Velmas**, of

* *Rachewars*, *Rowwars* *Telinga* corruptions of *Rajah*, or of its diminutive *Rai*, joined with the personal or local appellative *war*, to express the people, or descendants of Chiefs of foreign extract, or of modern upstart race. The *Velmawars* among the *Telingians*, are equivalent to the *Nairs* of *Matabar*, or *Naigs* of

which denominations the principal *Zemin-dars* in the *Circars* are actually composed, affect the warlike character and manners of *Rajepoots*, to entitle themselves to be ranked with the more genuine offspring of the *Cbeteree*, or second class. But the *Commewar*, *Conbies*, or husbandmen; *Gulewar*, *Abere*, or cowherds; *Saliwar*, *Julhai*, or weavers, together with the *Twelve Bulootedars*, or artificers, maintained by the greater villages, and taxed by Government, though all incorporated in the *Sooder*, last, or *fourth* great *cast*, have yet sometimes claimed the degree immediately above them; and, from their utility, have as often been allowed, by a foreign magistrate, to rank with the *Comti*, *Banias*, or retail merchants, which are properly of the *third*, or class assimilated with that of *Bice* *.

Canara, and are the native gentry or military of the country, claiming descent from, or adopted into the families sprung from the ancient princes of *Worangal*.

* N. B. What farther regards the character, manners, customs, and religion of these *Decannee Hindoos*, is the subject of a more ample description in another part of a political survey, which treats generally of all

The note here inserted, in the MS., proves the extent of Mr. *Grant's* interesting researches into the history and polity of *India*; the political and historical view of the *Northern Circars*, which I have inserted to shew how great and important part of *British India* is, included in Mr. *Russell's* question, is only an *extract* from the *Introduction* to Mr. *Grant's* Political Survey of the *Northern Circars*, laid on the tables of the House of Commons, as before mentioned. By connecting this extract with the chapter on the fraudulent Alienations of Revenues in the *Northern Circars* *, a correct examination of the political and financial importance of the *Circars* may be compared with Mr. *Russell's* calculation and statement of fact.

the *Six Indian* nations inhabiting the Peninsula, giving their names to, or denominated from, the grand divisions of country, *Malabar, Canara, Marbat, Telinga, Orisa, Gaendicurnah*, into which the *Decan* is naturally and properly distributed.

* Vide Chap. VIII. p. 193, and Chap. XII. p. 240.

*Revolutions and Historical Events.**Bamineah Rule.*

It was not until the year 1471 of the *Christian* æra, or 876 of the *Hejerab*, that the *Mahommedans* of the *Decan* extended their arms to the *Northern Circars*. At this time *Oria*, the *Rajah* of the country of the same name, separated from the rest of *Orissa*, on the north, by the *Chilca* lake, having died without issue, a dispute arose for the succession between *Mungal Rai*, the adopted son, and *Humner*, the cousin of the deceased. The latter had recourse for assistance to *Mahommed Shah Luskerry*, who then ruled over the *Bamineah* Empire in *Beder*, and had long wished for such an opportunity of extending his conquests on that side of his dominions; in consequence of which, the claimant was not only put in possession of the family estates, but, through the aid of his great ally, acquired the new conquests of *Condapillee*, including all the intervening districts to *Rajemundry*, on condition of becoming tributary for the whole to the *Mussulman* Empire, 1480.

But the ambitious projects of *Mahommed Shah* were not accomplished until nine years afterwards, by subjugating more completely to his authority the *districts* of *Massulipatam*, with the important province of *Guntour*. These formed part of a principality lately established by *Narsingh*, who was probably descended from the conquered *Telinga Rajahs* of *Worangol*, and being driven from the family inheritance, took advantage of the distractions which prevailed in the *Carnatic*, to make himself master of the sea coast of *Ceromandel* from the *Kistna*, south to *Kanji*, or *Conjeeveram*, fixing his chief residence at *Chundergury*. As the entire conquest of this new state, afterwards called *Narsingha*, and so often confounded by *European* travellers or historians with *Bejenagur*, the Capital of the *Great Indian Empire* of *Canara*, from which it had been dismembered, entered largely into the political views of the Court of *Beder*; so the possession of *Guntour* in particular, as lying on the south side of the *Kistna*, and in other respects, from situation, justly considered the master-key of the *Carnatic*

towards the north, appeared of the greatest relative importance.

Kootub-Shahy Rule.

In the year 1512 the *Kootub-Shahy*, a second dynasty of *Decanny Mussulman Kings*, dismembered, as *Turresdars*, or Governors, by right of power, the eastern division of the *Bamineab* Empire, called *Telंगा*, but in after ages more generally denominated from its capital and principal fortress, indiscriminately, the state of *Hydrabad*, or of *Golconda*; and in proportion to the limited sway of this new sovereignty, so the complete reduction of all the tributary dependencies, especially those on the sea coast, which are now the subject of consideration, became a great object of policy with the ruling administration. The countries south of the *Goadavari* to the river *Gondegama* were entirely subdued; reduced nearly into their present form of provinces as described, and were in general modelled, almost on the same principles of interior government, as pre-

vailed at the period of the last revolution, when they were annexed to the *British* dominions in *India*. But at that time, *Wifina-deo*, or *Gajeputty*, a powerful prince of *Orissa*, having united under his sceptre all the ancient family domains, from the confines of *Bengal* to those of *Telinga* on the south, no impression could be made on *Rajemundry*, or the more northerly province, formerly tributary to the *Mahommedans*, while possessed by the descendants of *Oria*, until the year 1571, under the reign of *Ibrahim Kootub Shah*. Then, a new participation of this *Indian* principality lessened the power of defence, and facilitated the reduction of the *Rbeddy*, or proprietary Chief of the race of *Gajeputty*, to whose lot the southern division, along the banks of the *Goadaveri*, descended as an inheritance. The treason of *Vacheroy Mussalee*, ancestor to the *Zemindar* of *Peddapore*, and renter or manager for the *Rbeddywars*, furthered the ambitious projects of the *Sultaun*, while it procured for himself the farm of *Kimmoor*, &c. which served as a foundation to more extensive acquisitions. But the conquest of *Rajemun-*

dry was still far from being complete. The island of *Nagur* was wholly inaccessible to *Maffulman* troops : nor could the interior of the province be sufficiently protected from the ravages of the ejected proprietors, who were driven to their unwholesome fastnesses among the hills, but by a standing militia and feudatory force, which, besides the ordinary estimated revenue of the *Circar*, subsisted on lands exempted from taxation, or under exactions from inferior subjects of the state, or plunder taken from neighbouring independant inhabitants, who were possessed of greater wealth than courage to defend it. In like manner *Cicacole* was but imperfectly reduced; and reckoning its first revenue according to the public records, it was rated at an assessment greatly short of the actual collections made from the people, and of the necessary military disbursements of a frontier province*.

* About the year 1592, *Rajah Mansing*, the Emperor *Akbar's* Delegate in *Bengal*, having partially subdued the Northern Provinces of *Orissa*, included in the lists of his conquests the southerly dependencies of *Kulling*, or *Cicacole*, and *Rajemundry*; valuing the former, of 27 *Mhals*, at 239,000 rupees, and the latter, of 16

Timooreah Rule.

A. D. 1687. Such, however, was the state in which all the *Northern Circars*, together with the other dominions of *Abu'l Huseen*, the last of the race of the *Hootub Shaby*, fell in the year 1687 to the victorious arms of *Alem Geer*, the Great *Mogul* Emperor of *Hindoostan*. But during the twenty remaining years of his reign, this monarch was too busily employed in conquering the larger provinces of the *Decan*, and curbing the upstart *Mahrattah* power, to inspect, or render, either of the two maritime dependencies of *Hydrabad*, henceforth termed a *Soubah*, lying north of the *Goadaveri*, as productive as they ought to have been to the treasury ; and in the pe-

Mhals, at 125,000 rupees. But, in truth, the *Mogul* arms did not penetrate beyond the *Chilca* lake ; and the assessment of those two districts annexed to, or making part of, the original *Toomiar Jumma* of *Tooril Mull*, as exhibited in the the *Ayeen Akbary*, serves only to evince the imperfection of that famous rent-rolle, with respect to the *Soubah* of *Bengal*.

riod which immediately followed his death, successive wars or contentions for empire, having introduced anarchy and usurpation in some places, precluded every where the possibility of reform, or, in general, occasioned a total suspension of all regular government throughout the whole extent of *Hindoostan*.

Afipheah Rule.

A. D. 1724. At length the memorable battle of *Shucker Kerah*, in 1724, gave a transient repose to the *Decan*, while it transferred, in fact, though not in form, the sovereignty of this great limb of the *Mogul* Empire, from the house of *Timur* to that of *Afipheah*, in the person of the first and famous *Nizam Ul Moolk*, self-constituted, as well as by *Sunnuds* from *Mahomed Shah*, the reigning Emperor, *Viceroy* of all the *Six Soubahdarries*, south of the *Nerbudda*, one of the great ancient and modern boundaries of proper *Hindoostan*. The wisdom and vigour of this new ruler were immediately felt in the *Circar of Ci-*

cacole, by the appointment of *Anwar Ul Dien Khan Gopamowee*, to the post of *Aumildar*, or Controller of that province; but we are not to estimate the public benefits derived from an able administration of fifteen years successively, by the criterion of a rent roll, under the best constituted *Mussulman* Government. The pride, the advantage of a great military establishment, though often nominal, must be taken into consideration; and if the *policy* and *passion* of princes did not so powerfully incline them to the *system* of purchasing personal attachments by conferring individual favours; yet it is so much the interest of Ministers and the other great courtiers, thus to promote the wealth and influence of provincial delegates, perhaps originally recommended by themselves, that full credit ought always to be given in *public* management, for various acquisition of *private* fortune, authorised by unqualified despotism, written positive laws, or a conscientious implication of their reason and true spirit. Nor will such liberality appear so great when it is considered, that *death* legally gave to the prince, entire and uncondition-

ally, whatever portion of the riches of his subjects, the forbearance of his arbitrary will left to his delegates for *life*, only, perhaps, in the hopes of future reversion. To judge, therefore, impartially of *Anwar Ul Dien Khan's* progress in reducing to proper obedience, or in ascertaining and realizing the full revenue of *those districts* so long placed under his management, we must take into the account, his ample private emoluments, of which a skilful application probably paved the way to farther preferment, until finally rewarded by the *Foujedarry* of the *Carnatic*. That the remains of his fortune escaped the grasping hand of his immediate superior, the *Soubahdar* of *Hydrabad*, at the period of his death, must be attributed to the inability of even the great *Viceroy* himself, their common ruler, to assert the more undoubted rights of sovereignty in any part of the *Decan*, under the terror of the then prevailing power of the *Mahrattas*; and it may not be unworthy of remark, that even nineteen years afterwards it required the irresistible influence of the *British* Government to obtain for *Mahommed Ali*, the

the successor of *Anwar Ul Dien*, a full discharge of the arrears, or pretended defalcations in the revenue of *Cicacole*. But if such were the advantages resulting from the ability and good fortune of the *Aumildar*, deputed by the great *Asiph Jah* to one of the maritime *Circars*, greater still were the benefits derived from the vigour and integrity of his contemporary, *Rustum Khan*, who, from 1732, for seven successive years, ruled, with the most ample delegated sway, *Rajemundry*, with the other four more southerly provinces. There, the *Zemindars*, or *Indian* farmers-general, had availed themselves of the surrounding distractions, on the death of *Alem Geer*, to usurp the rights and feeble authority of their corrupt *Mussulman* superintendants. To correct these dangerous abuses, and restore the ancient, legal, or necessary forms of interior administration were the arduous tasks assigned to this new *Zelabdar*, or Provincial Governor, next in subordinate degree to, though, on the present occasion, vested in, the plenary powers of a *Foujedar*; and the conduct of the man so fully justifies the *Nizam's* choice, that even to this day

it is held up, and considered by the inhabitants in general, as an example worthy of imitation, for necessary policy, considerate humanity, rigid and universal justice. At the same time that the *Zemindars* had defrauded the Public Treasury, they squeezed with the iron hand of oppression the industrious husbandmen and manufacturers. The first object, therefore, of *Rustum Khan's* Government was the total extirpation of such merciless tyrants. Those who escaped the sword, were proclaimed as traitors ; and a reward being offered for their own with adherent heads, a sufficient number was soon collected to erect *two* of those shocking pyramidal monuments, called *Kulla Minar*, near each of the provincial capitals ; for one of which kind, though on a larger scale, the cruelty of *Nadir Shah* is held in *Europe* so justly in abhorrence. The remains of one of those singular proofs of eastern depravity, the cause or effect of the most violent despotism, are still to be seen in the neighbourhood of *Massulipatam* ; and might be supposed to serve as a lesson of useful instruction to the natives, to contrast and revere

the lenity of their actual Government. But the Legislature will assuredly be disappointed, who expects to find in *Hindostan* the operation of free, enlarged reason and reflection ; and the characteristical traits of the people, as sketched by the great *Tamerlane* in his celebrated institutions, would not have been so long and universally admitted by his imperial successors as making the true unchangeable features of their subjects, as well as indicating the infallible standard of practical rule in politics, if they had not been drawn with exact similitude by a superior discerning genius, and the hand of a master. Accordingly, the severe administration of *Rustum Khan*, which he now farther distinguished by substituting *Aumeens*, supervisors, or temporary collectors, in the room of the annihilated refractory *Zemindars*, is become as proverbial, for exemplary excellence in the *Circars* ; as that of *Jaffier Khan*, who devised the famous loathsome torture of the *Bykunta*, or Paradise, to extort from similar delinquents in *Bengal*, the settled revenue of the *Soubah* collected from the *Reyuts*. Still, however,

the *Jumma Kaumil*, or original assessment continued at an under rate on the *Chalfab* records; and the benefits derived by the state from superior management, were always temporary, depending on the personal ability of the individual employed, and for the most part flowing in through the private channels of corruption. *Mussulman* depravity, indolence, and ignorance, soon made it necessary to recur to the ancient system of finance, through the agency of *Hindoo* farmers-general; who to remedy the evils of a fluctuating government, were made to have a permanent interest in the soil and general prosperity of the country, by certain *local privileges*, which were so invariably continued in the same family by successive *Aumildars*, that they were often mistaken by the possessors for hereditary rights, liable always to be enlarged in anarchy, or under the authority of natural law, when civil restraints lost all controlling influence; and thus the creation of new *Zemindars* was in a few years productive of fresh disorders under similar circumstances throughout the whole extent of the *Northern Circars*.

French Rule.

When these provinces were annexed to the *French* dominions in *India*, in 1753, under the *Nizamut* of *Salabut Jung*, who owed his elevation and support chiefly to the great address and military conduct of the famous *Bussy*, that able politician and commander, appointed to rule the ceded territories, found himself under the necessity, but always with true measured civilized humanity, of going over the same ground with the best of his *Mussulman* predecessors, in re-establishing order and the indispensable indubitable rights of Eastern sovereignty. *Zemindars* were, as usual, dismissed from their employments, but generally permitted to enjoy, under *French Sunnuds*, their *Russooms* and *Saverums*, or *conditional hereditary privileges*, amounting to from *eight to twelve per cent.* on the net revenue collected; and, excepting in the *Circar* of *Cicacole*, there are more instances of new creations, than total extirpation of those necessary officers of Government.

Here indeed the reform was not complete. A number of petty *Indian* superintendants divided the whole province betwixt them; and family feuds, internal usurpations, together with multiplied abuses, for ever disturbed the public tranquillity, while they lessened the *receipts* greatly below the *dues* of the exchequer. The union or annexation of these several possessions under one head, appeared the most eligible system of administration; and *Vizeram Raufe*, the predecessor, not ancestor, of the present *Zemindar* of the same name, who then only held the *four Pergunnabs*, or lesser districts, about *Vizianagram*, rendered himself the most useful and acceptable man to act in the capacity of chief.

It is not our province to trace the progressive execution of the plan projected; and we could wish to forget such bloody scenes as occurred in the acquisition of *Bobilee*: suffice it to observe, that success crowned the enterprize, and raised the favoured *Vizeram* to that unrivalled power and consideration, which the adopted representative of his family is still permitted to

enjoy, among a multitude of the official landholders dispersed throughout the *Circars*, some of higher pretensions from birth, but all of inferior territorial consequence. At length, in 1757, a complete survey and *Hustabood*, or detailed accounts of the gross collections of the whole country, infinitely more accurate and useful than the famous Doomsday book of *England*, were formed; Mr. *Bussey* acquired knowledge of resources entirely beyond his *Mussulman* predecessors, and greatly exceeding perhaps, the general belief of more modern financiers. But moderation was necessary under a recent foreign administration. The regular troops to be supported by the revenue were to be employed on distant service; and the great Director-general himself, whose presence might frequently be requisite to enforce his decrees, was almost constantly obliged to reside at the *Nizam's* Court, to keep in order and set in motion that wonderful political machinery, which was at once the basis of his own grandeur, and made his nation the arbiters of the *Decan*. The *Jummabundy* or annual settlement, therefore, was only *doubled* in *Cicacole* and *Raje-*

mundry ; and brought somewhat nearer the *Kham-Wasool*, or gross receipts, in the other provinces. Besides which, as a temporary expedient, the *Zemindars* were bound to maintain the public peace ; defray all charges of collection ; and keep on foot a *Sebandy corps* or militia of *twelve thousand* infantry, which over and above the ordinary service of preserving or enforcing the equal division of the *three* yearly crops between government and its tenants, were liable to be called on, for a very small daily allowance, to repel any invading foe. All this, however, we believe to have been only the first step towards establishing a more adequate *Jumma Kaumil*, or standard revenue, which a prospect of future stability was to make progressive, until it attained an equitable medium of rent or taxation, that leaves abundance to the husbandmen, with a sufficient spur to industry ; that supplies the exigencies of the state in the necessary means for a general system of defence, or diffuses with returning increase, through the channels of commerce or other public disbursements, the enlivening benefits of provincial circulation ; and after all, affords

to indispensable intermediate agents neither princely fortunes to feed idleness, or pamper useless luxury, nor hoards of wealth to be secreted in the earth for the purposes of superstition or chicanery, and thus to set at nought the deadly labour of man for its acquisition ; nor enormous defalcations from the indisputable rights of royalty, to purchase remissions, privileges, and influence, by corruption ; nor to maintain a very formidable military retinue, whose only virtue is personal attachment to the master who pays them, chiefly on *alienated* lands on the footing of those territorial benefices, which, with equal impropriety or ignorance, are sometimes suffered to be given away to gain the partial favour of *Bramins* ; until at length the *King's* conquered *domains* are rendered of no account, or wholly parcelled out to support meditated rebellion, must be again reunited under refractory subjects, in the form of hereditary independant possessions :—No, not any such dangerous superfluities or embezzlements would probably have been allowed to *Zemindars*, those necessary servile links in Eastern despotism to connect the distant extremes of *Prince* and

Reyut. Nothing beyond a splendid family subsistence, with just such an overplus of income as might serve to support official dignity, consequential appearance, personal pre-eminence, and gentility. This, we believe, would have been the equitable political result of Mr. *Bussey's* scheme of finance, if he had been allowed to complete it; though the ignorant calumniators of that great man, without attending to the other inexhaustible sources of private wealth which he possessed, in commanding the entire ministerial influence of the *Nizamut*, do not give his disinterestedness all the credit due to the arrangements, for the time, concluded as the annual revenues of the *Circars*.

Anarchy.

In April 1759, by the conquest of the fortress of *Massulipatam*, that great commanding bulwark, the virtual sovereignty of all the maritime provinces, on either side from the river *Gondagama* to the *Chilca* lake, was absolutely and necessarily trans-

ferred from the *French* to the *British* Government. The gallant officer, however, under whose command this new and amazing revolution had been effected, could not conceive the possibility of maintaining, under the rule of a mercantile establishment, territorial acquisitions of such vast extent. He contented himself, and still more fully his employers, in obtaining a formal grant for those districts only, which have since constituted the immediate dependencies of the conquered capital, from *Salabut Jung*, the *supposed* rightful ruler of the *Decan*, set up by *Bussy*; and left the viceroy in nominal possession of the remainder, lost in wonder at the generosity and moderation of the *English*, though utterly incapable, from court distractions, or the local circumstances of the country itself, thus dismembered from its head, to realise the derelicted boon. In consequence of which, for *seven* succeeding years, the completest anarchy, recorded in the History of *Hindustan*, prevailed over all the *five* greater *Northern Circars*. The forms, nay, even the remembrance, of civil government seemed to be wholly lost. Lords became vassals;

renters were called proprietors; and *Aumildars* changed condition with their inferior officers by accepting *Zemindary Ruffooms*, or yearly acknowledgments to lessen the recorded value and standing revenue of the lands. In 1761, an unconstitutional reform was attempted under the sanction of illegitimate authority. *Nizam Ally*, the brother of *Salabut Jung*, the actual viceroy, having sometime before usurped the general administration of affairs in the *Decan*, was so unfortunate in his transactions with the *Mabrattahs* as to be obliged to cede for ever to the *Peshwa*, territories of the yearly value of *one crore* of rupees. The aspiring Minister regarding the consequent enfeebled state of the *Nizamut*, rather as the effect of his brother's weakness and unworthiness to rule, than of his own misconduct, began to entertain thoughts of the *Musnud*; and to anticipate the princely honours to which he had already been declared apparent heir. In this design he the more readily yielded his inferior charge, to a new court faction which rose on the decline of his own popularity, on being permitted to levy contributions from the eastern

refractory provinces, which were to constitute a fund of corruption to assist him in his elevation. At that time *Hussen Ali Khan* acted in the capacity of *Aumildar* in the *Circars*. This man had in vain instigated the *English* Government to assert its rights ; at the same time he found his authority curtailed in the exercise of his office, by the protection given to *Zemindars*. Among numberless instances of this kind, one *Codant Ram*, of *Derracotah*, a small, but compact, fruitful, and highly-cultivated *Pergunnah*, lying 15 miles south of *Massulipatam*, on the banks of the *Kistna*, had been invariably assessed in the books of the *Circar* of *Condapilly* for a revenue of rupees two lacks, nineteen thousand, four hundred and fifty-seven and six *annas*, (2,19,457,6). The gross *Mofussil* receipts exceeded this amount, in the sum of sixty thousand rupees, which defrayed the expence of internal management, such as *Sebundy*, with the *Russeoms* and *Saverums* of the *Zemindar*, and other lesser officers of Government. *Codant Ram*, a sensible, intelligent man, and at this day, without exception, the most skilful farmer in any

of the provinces, according to popular estimation, availed himself of the prevailing distractions, on reinstatement in the *Zemindary* management, from which he had been suspended by the *French*, to obtain an annual diminution of his usual rent on the plea of predatory and other losses sustained by the inhabitants of the district in the period of his suspension. He was seconded by the then Chief of *Massulipatam*, who, undoubtedly conceiving him aggrieved, interceded so powerfully in his behalf, that, for the small additional consideration of nine thousand *Pagodas* paid to the *Aumildar*, the *Zemindary*, in the first instance, was only rated at forty-eight thousand rupees on the general rent roll, though afterwards increased to 18,000 *pagodas* or seventy-two thousand rupees, but with a continuation of the same annual douceur on settling the *Jumna bundy*. In this situation of affairs, curtailed in power and emolument, *Hussen Ali* solicited strongly the known ambitious *Nizam Ali*, who had already set out in quest of his pecuniary object, to visit and reform his own distracted jurisdiction. The invitation

was gladly accepted, nor was the expedition fruitless. Titles and *Sunnuds* were lavishly bestowed on the *Zemindars* for paying up arrears of revenue, or attaching them to the personal fortunes of the discarded *Minister*, who was meditating rebellion against his brother, the immediate sovereign. These favours, illegal, unsubstantial in themselves, did not even in *form* transfer any of the rights of *Mogul* royalty; and were only a temporary confirmation of ancient grants to new usurping landholders; every *Tahseeldar*, or petty *Mussulman*, and *French* collector, held and exercised the same prerogative on their first accession, or yearly settlement of accounts; and the fees admitted of, on such occasions, were no inconsiderable benefit to all the officers of government. Nevertheless, the privileges conferred, in this period of confusion, as coming from superior authority, and flattering to the vanity of upstart pretenders, became soon afterwards in such repute, that *forgeries* of them were common: *twenty* rupees could purchase an impression of the counterfeit seal; and *eight annas* more might have alienated half the

regalities of *Hindostan*, as far as they were at the disposal of an *adroit Persian Mutseddy*, or writer. But now a revolution was preparing from abroad to rectify these glaring absurdities, and substitute constitutional rule in the room of the most licentious disorders, oppression, and tyrannical anarchy, which had actually reduced the *Nizam's* receipts from all the provinces north of the *Kistna*, on a medium of five successive years, to something less than *three* lacks of rupees annually.

British Rule.

THIS was no other than the grand political change gloriously begun ten years before, and finally executed in 1766 by the immediate atchievement, or under the auspices of the immortal *Clive*, which increased the *British* Empire, not so particularly in the *East*, perhaps, as universally, to its greatest splendour and magnitude; though at the same time, with respect to the *Circars*, it could only be considered as adding territorial possession, under written

forms, to previous conquered right. *Sunnuds* the most ample and legal were procured from the actual, rightful, acknowledged Emperor of *Hindoostan*, transferring in perpetuity to the great *India* Company the entire, free, and unconditional sovereignty of that portion of his hereditary dominions, the present object of consideration, and then nominally under the weak factious administration of his delegate, or rather the self-constituted viceroy of the *Decan*. An army of about 3000 seapoys at once enforced the grant, and terrified the *Nizam* into a solemn confirmation of it by treaty; but with a voluntary acknowledgement, on the part of the *English*, which, though of longer duration than originally expected, must be allowed sufficiently to support the national claim to generosity and moderation. An insidious combination and war, commenced a twelve-month afterwards in return for such substantial favour, soon gloriously terminated however by the battle of *Trinomalee*, 1768, served only to strengthen and give permanency to the tenure of these important recent acquisitions, with rather a diminu-

tion of the *pecuniary gratuity*, erroneously called a *Peshcush*, or tribute, paid yearly on certain conditions to the *Soubah*, in consequence of the former negotiation. Nor will it seem a matter of so much surprise, that an incumbrance so large, dangerous, and, as it afterwards appeared, so ill bestowed, should have at all entered into the *original* agreement, or that an entire remission of it should not have formed an article of the *second*, when it is considered, that in *both* cases, concessions the most mortifying and infinitely of greater estimation, were exacted and obtained for the *Nabob* of the *Carnatic*, the mortal enemy and declared rival of his superior, the *Nizam*; and a variety of other circumstances and political combinations opposed a more advantageous settlement; such as that the sphere of *British* Government in the *East* was but recently enlarged by the acquisition of extensive territory; that men's minds, formed only to the contracted scale of mercantile policy, were consequently unprepared instantaneously to embrace objects so various, complicated, and of so vast a scope; or that if a few individuals

of superior genius could be found who comprehended the theory, yet still experience was wanting for the practice. That, on the other hand, the highest and most formidable ideas were then entertained of the power, pretensions, and rights of the *Viceroy* of the *Decan*; that in proportion as the glare of these was to vanish from popular sight, so the gratuitous tribute it commanded, was to be of short duration, subject to many future contingencies, and at all events, agreeably to the law of nations as universally understood in the *East*, as well as to the spirit, and not contrary to the letter of subsisting treaties, was absolutely and finally to cease on the death, or removal of the actual incumbent. Neither is to be wondered, even at this day, after a lapse of full seventeen years of the most profound tranquillity, abundant produce, and commercial benefits, enjoyed, perhaps for the first time, for ages past in all the *Circars*, if the *East-India* Company have not as yet entirely entered into their least equivocal and more undoubted proprietary rights. Their servants in this country are placed under the most embarrassing, unrea-

sonable circumstances. The pursuit of *fortune* can be the only private object, to suffer probable death and certain loss of health, in a foreign climate destitute of all natural or social pleasures, according to the bent of a tolerably well-finished *European* education. Not only the most rigid restraints *formally* are opposed to the gratification of this ruling desire originating from factitious necessity, but likewise all visible means of subsistence are *actually* denied. At the same time the temptations in ministerial offices are strong, but not so much in the pride of holding them, as in their attendant emoluments. The virtue of the present age is weak ; while refinements of the *understanding* are capable of finding out and reconciling evasions of the *civil*, only to obey the more powerful *law of natural reason*. Prejudices are consequently entertained at home against *Indian* administration in general. These create disgust abroad. No incitements are held out for industry, improvement, or disinterested conduct. The evil becomes extreme : it is found to be deeply rooted in the original constitution of government ; and if at all to be rectified, it can

only be through the lenient, wise, and powerful interposition of the British legislature. The task is begun, with some hopes of completion ; yet if it should appear in course of a vigorous prosecution, that millions have been lost to the public in lieu of thousands pocketed by individuals, it by no means follows that mere penal laws rigidly enforced by the most virtuous administration in the universe, will prove effectual, when due attention is not paid to the local circumstances, and craving private interests of agents necessarily employed, at the distance of near half the globe from the high controlling power, in large discretionary confidential trusts. Or rather, perhaps, according to a former observation, it may happen, that “ should restrictive laws be written in blood, and *Minos* himself the judge, unaccompanied by reason, they would be as the dead letter of tyranny, opposed by bold necessity, or eluded by the timid craft and villainy of slavery.” But to return from this digression to the subject of our historical detail, it is necessary to remark, that even after the formal cession of the *Circars*, so liberally paid for by the Com-

pany, their arms had still to subdue, at a great expence, the *Zemindars* of *Cicacole* and *Rajemundry*, instigated to be refractory through the former weakness, and present machinations of their ejected *Mussulman* rulers ; while the farming land-holders of *Ellore* and *Condapillee* more readily submitted, under a written promise from the military commander, of the continuation of their privileges on certain conditions, which of course were never voluntarily to be fulfilled by a people, who the first time in the tradition of ages, had heard of stipulation, proposed by conquerors. The fate of *Guntour* was singular : nor doth the possession of it, yet complete the conquered granted right of sovereignty. A seven-years lease of this province, granted to *Basalut Jung*, by his brother *Salabut Jung*, the *viceroi*, to enable the *former* to entertain the party of *Frenchmen* to be expelled from the limits of the *Decan*, ignorantly described by the *River Kistna on the South*, and thus virtually set aside the agreement entered into by the *latter* (in 1759) with the *English* Government, was just expired at the period of concluding the treaty of *Hydrabad* in 1766 :

and though the *Nizam Ali*, the successor of *Salabut Jung*, at this time would have considered the extermination of his brother the *Lessee*, a more desirable circumstance than the renewal of his holding, and soon afterwards actually proposed the alternative; yet as the latter proceeding curtailed the advantages of a more formidable natural enemy, and left great room for future contingencies, so the farm of *Guntour* was continued to *Basalat Jung*, but under the erroneous description of a *Jageer*, on conditions acknowledged to have been broken on his part in 1768, and always depending on the good will and pleasure of his immediate proprietary superiors, who at the same time enjoyed the most rightful, extensive, and powerful sovereignty actually existing in *Hindostan*. But strange to relate! in 1779, we find the local representatives of this mighty government change conditions with a petty vassal, and put themselves on a footing with the little proprietor of the *Circar* of *Adoni*, to obtain the rental of *Guntour*, that they might have the honor of sub-letting it to their greater feudatory *Naivaub* or deputy, the lately constituted *Soubahdar* of the *Car-*

natic, as in propriety he must be called, since there are no treaties, or circumstances of equality, to authorize his being distinguished as a federate ally, or otherwise. Such a reversal of the natural order of things could not be of long duration. Ignorant, ambitious neighbouring rulers, construed a total dereliction of dignity, right and power, into a conscious incapacity of governing, unless through the vain medium of their own flattered ability and supremacy; and as an earnest of greater acquisitions, the *Nizam*, in November 1780, seized the province in question; which was now ordered to be evacuated by the *English* troops, and has, from a series of (to him) fortunate circumstances, continued in his possession even beyond the period of its final, absolute reversion to the company on the 5th of October 1782, when death put an end to all and singular pretensions of *Basajung*.

The resulting benefits of occupancy therefore should not be estimated by an *annual* revenue of *twelve lacks of rupees* which might have been received, with only

a deduction of *two* for the first year paid to the suspended *Jageerdar* ; nor by the local importance of, and military or political consequence derived from, the territory itself ; but ought to be computed rather according to the British loss, in suffering, though it must be acknowledged, hitherto from sad necessity, or expediency, through temporary embarrassments, such large advantages to be quietly enjoyed by a natural, insidious, contemptible enemy.

“ After the death of *Basalut Jung*, Lord *Cornwallis* liquidated all accounts with the *Nizam*, and obtained possession of the *Guntour*. The Company paid him a large balance for arrears, and entered into engagements for the regular payment of the whole annual *tribute* of seven *lacks* !” and Mr. *Russell* informs us * “ that the *law officers* of the *Company* have given it as their opinion that the *sovereignty* remains in the *country powers*, and that no courts of *judicature* can be *insti-*

* Short History, 2d. edit. page 72, opinions of the Company's Advocate General and Solicitor General, Fort St. George, July, 1783.

tuted but by the authority of the Mogul or his Soubah !" from the authority I have above stated, I deny absolutely the fact which Mr. *Russell* contends, " that the *Circars* were never conquered by the Company, and that it will not be liable to account for the revenues of them to the public, after the expiration of the present act." * The sovereignty of the *Circars*, according to legal construction of *Indian* grants, being more clearly in favour of *Great Britain* than it is in *Bengal*, the sooner such erroneous and ruinous opinions are denied, and impolitic concessions are distinguished from justice and policy, the sooner we shall be able to render the subjects of *British India* prosperous, and to establish the interests and honor of the *British* Government.

* Short History, page 72.

CHAP. XVII.

*On the competition of the French and English
for territory in India.*

THE cursory review of the *French* and *English* affairs in *India*, involves in it so much of the political history of *India*, that a separate treatise instead of a chapter, would be usefully devoted to the subject. I shall only state so much as may recall to our memory the real origin and pretensions of the present native and European sovereigns, to their respective dominions in *India*.

The progress of the *English* from the reign of Queen *Elizabeth* was slow, until *Bombay* and *St. Helena* became a part of the *British* empire, by the marriage of King *Charles II.* with the *Infanta* of *Portugal*, and were granted to the *East-India* Company. The creation of the new company in 1697, which soon was incorporated with the old

Company into the existing Company of united merchants trading to the *East Indies*, is in fact the date of the extended commerce of *Great Britain* in *India*.

The exclusive privileges granted by *Henry* the IVth of *France*, in 1604, to merchants, and of *Louis XIV.* in 1664, to a *French* company trading to the *East Indies*, were followed by their settlement at *Surat* in 1667, and at *Pondicherry* in 1676, on a grant from *Sagoge* the *Mabrattah* conqueror of the *Carnatic*, who made himself King of *Tanjore*.

It was after the peace of *Ryswick* that both nations, in imitation of the *Dutch*, connected commercial adventurers under the control of political administration; the union of *English East-India* adventurers into one company, and its connection with the state subsequent to that period, has been sufficiently explained. The *French*, in the year 1719, formed four companies, viz. the Company trading to the *East Indies*, to *China*, to *America*, and to *Africa*, into

one company, called the perpetual company of the *Indies*. The rivalry of *France* was limited to commerce, till after *Nadir Shah* had invaded *Hindostan*. The *French* company was empowered to raise troops and erect fortifications for the defence, and preservation of its settlements;* and the crown of *France* publicly engaged to assist with its navies and armies, in case the company was troubled in its possessions by the enemies of the state †.

The *English* obtained greater privilege in *Bengal* than the *French*, from the *Mogul*, in 1715, who, however, forbade the erection of fortifications; and the *French* had obtained permission to settle in the *Carnatic*, from *Sagoge*, the *Mahrattah*, on the express condition that they would not take any part in his wars; ‡ and it appears that both nations “ saw no violence to be apprehended from a people who had a just idea of commerce, and a Government at that time

* 26 Art. Edict of 1664.

† *Memoire de la Compagnie des Indes*, 1763, p. 10.

‡ *Ibid.* and *Revolut. des Indes*, t. 1, p. 67.

well administered ; they built with very little view of defence, and carried on their trade free from oppression." * The correspondence of the *English* Governor, in 1730, was probably in the same terms as *le Sieur Le Noir*, the French Governor, " I will send you as much merchandize, as you will send me money to pay for ;" † and King *Alfred's* missioner to the Christians of *St. Thomas* probably did not find the *Syrian* merchants more intent on their commerce, than the company's servants were on the same spot in 1740. The able and gallant *Mabé de la Bourdonnois*, sent with the French King's and company's commission, as Governor of *Bourbon*, in 1746, began to trade with an armed force, and took *Madras*, which he restored for a considerable ransom. It is even said ‡ in 1748, when Admiral *Boscawen* brought a force to retaliate by an attack of *Pondicherry*, the troops were stopt near the *French* limits, by the fort

* Lord *Clive's* Letter to the Proprietors, 1764.

† *Memoire de la Compagnie*, page 11.

‡ *Orme*, Vol. I. page 101.

Ariancopany, of which no one could give any description to the General.

Two circumstances, however, had materially altered the company's relation to *India*, exclusive of the armed force from *Europe*, conveyed so far, to dispute the superiority between the *French* and *English*, rivals in every part of the globe*. “The *Soubabs* of distant provinces discovered the weakness, to which the power of the Emperor was reduced, by the invasion of *Nadir Shah*: they were no longer restrained by fear; each assumed and exercised sovereign authority over his province, and looked on his government as an heritage to his family.” The *Nizam Ul Moolk*, great chancellor and generalissimo of the empire, had under his jurisdiction (the *Decan*) near one fourth of the empire, in which without rebellion, he made himself nearly independant of the *Mogul*; he openly censured the lethargic conduct, and profligate manners of the court of *Mahomed Shah*, and had advised *Thomas Kouli Khan* to invade *Hin-*

* Lord *Clive*'s Letter to the proprietors.

doſtan, * and retired from court. He left his eldeſt ſon, *Gazi Ul Dien*, in high favour with the *Mogul*; and in 1748, † he was one of the conſpirators who occaſioned the Emperor's death. The *Nizam*'s ſecond ſon, *Nazir Jung*, during his father's reſidence at *Delhi*, had governed in his name in the *Decan*; he revolted, and it required all the force of the *Nizam* to reduce him. *Muzafa Jung* ſon of the *Nizam*'s only daughter, was entrusted with the government of *Adoni*, and was his favourite. When the *Persian* had overrun *Hindoſtan*, and reſtored to the *Mogul* the countries to the eaſt of the *Indus* and *Attock*, the *Nizam* was relieved from the fear of this progreſs; but he was not ſufficiently confident in the *Mogul*'s good will, to venture to march againſt uſurpers in the diſtant parts of the *Nizamut*, to check the defection from his own government; he invited the *Mahrattas* to plunder the country, when he could not proteſt the tributary *Rajahs* from *Mahomedan* uſurpation.

* Orme, Vol. I.

† Buſſey's Letters.

The *Mogul*, unable to defend the part of his empire around *Delhi* from *Abdalla*, or the provinces of *Bengal* from his *Soubabs*, was also under the necessity of calling on foreign aid. The *Europeans*, in every instance in which they did not counteract each other, established a decisive superiority.

The other circumstance, which altered the relation of the *Europeans*, to natives, arose from the ability of Mr. *Dupleix*, appointed in 1720, first counsellor of the superior council of *Pondicherry*, commissary of war, and director of the *Comptoir* of *Chandernagor*, in 1731. During ten years at *Pondicherry*, he had been the active assistant of the Governor *Le Noir*, he introduced the private trade between the ports in *India*, and had amassed a considerable fortune. When he arrived in *Bengal*, a new scene opened to him; and during the eleven years he stayed there, that settlement was augmented by 2000 brick houses,* and the number of ships employed gave jealousy

* *Memoire de Dupleix*, page 15.

to other factories, and increased his private fortune to some millions of *rupees*; the oppression by which the native usurpers supported their independance, was now become necessary, “ in their turn the *Europeans* were oppressed; Mr. *Dupleix* was the first who took the alarm, and the first who discovered the superiority of *European* discipline; from hence he was led to the idea of acquiring a territorial sovereignty.” * The scene of his action was in the *Decan*; he was appointed, in 1742, Governor General of *India*, and Governor of *Pondicherry*. During the government of his predecessor, Mr. *Dumas*, the *Nabob* of the *Carnatic* availed himself of the critical situation of the Emperor, and of his immediate superior, the *Nizam*, at the period *Thamas Kouli Khan* attacked *Hindoستان*, to throw off dependance on either. *Doast Ali Khan*, to confirm his dependance as *Nabob* of the *Carnatic*, permitted *Subder Ali* his presumptive heir, and *Chundah Sabe* his son-in-law, to invade *Trichinopoly*, capital of *Madura*, one of the kingdoms the *Mogul* had left tributary under its own

* Lord *Clive*'s Letter to the proprietors.

government*, and which had maintained itself against the *Mahrattah* conqueror. The king of *Tanjore* at that time applied to the *French* for succour, and for the sum of 3000 *Pagodas*. *Carikal* and its territory were ceded to the *French*; the death and defeat of *Sagogi*, and the delays of the new king of *Tanjore* retarded that acquisition till the year 1739. About the same period the *French* acquired the privilege of coining; they had obtained it in 1736, by the *Sunnud* of *Mahommed Shab*;† they had it also from the *Nizam*, but they thought it necessary to have the *Sunnud* also of the *Nabob* of the *Carnatic*.‡ Mr. *Dumas* obtained this permission from the *Nabob* of the *Carnatic*, through his treasurer, who was the *Nabob* of *Arcot*.§

The *French* government gained advantages and credit by looking on at the revolution in the *Carnatic*. The widow of the

* *Memoire de la Compagnie*, page 24.

† *Essais Historique sur l'Inde*.

‡ *Revolut. des Indes*, T. 1, p. 74.

§ *Memoire de la Compagnie*, p. 12.

Rajah, who governed *Madura*, and resided at *Trichinopoly*, resisted the attack of the *Carnatic* army for six months. *Cbundah Sahab* at length offered a suspension of hostilities, and was admitted into *Trichinopoly* on his swearing by the *Koran* not to renew them. The queen however was the first victim; her treasures were seized; the usurper proclaimed himself *Nabob* of *Trichinopoly*.

The *Nizam* invited *Ragogi Bonfelo*, a *Mabrattab* Prince, to reduce the *Nabob* of the *Carnatic*, and resent his usurpation and treacherous barbarity. *Doastan Ali Khan* opposed the *Mabrattabs*, and was killed fighting gallantly at the head of his army, which was routed. His widow and family fled to the gates of *Pondicherry* to implore protection, which Mr. *Dumas* gave to them. *Ragogi* demanded them; but when summoned to give up the widow and the remainder of *Doastan Alli Khan's* family and riches, the *French* Governor answered, " You say you are going to take *Gingy*; that depends on your will: we shall find arms and soldiers, which, however, we shall not employ but against those who attack us un-

justly :” and he added, that the family of *Doastan Ali Khan* and *Chundab Sahab* experienced only that hospitality and protection which he would give, with the same good faith, to any Gentile prince who should reclaim it *. *Ragogi Bonfola* proceeded with his army to *Trichinopoly*, where, after three months siege, *Chundab Sahab* was forced, by scarcity of provisions, to surrender, after his brother, *Bara Sahab*, in a desperate attempt to raise the siege, had lost his life. *Ragogi* loaded *Chundab Sahab* and his eldest son with irons, and carried them, with all the treasure he had collected, to his own country. He left *Sabder Ali Khan* at *Arcot*, who soon after was assassinated at *Velour*, leaving a son six years old. After the retreat of the *Mahrattahs*, the *Nizam* came into the *Carnatic*, to restore his authority, with 100,000 men. He possessed himself of *Trichinopoly*; he settled the tribute with the King of *Tanjore*, and gave the government of the *Carnatic* and *Madura* to the infant son of *Sabder Ali Khan*, and appointed the *Nabob* of

* Mem. de la Comp. p. 27.

Cicacole, named *Anwur Ul Dien Khan**, regent. He was not long installed before the child was murdered. It has been made a question whether *Anwur Ul Dien* †, or *Chundab Sahib* instigated the murder‡: notwithstanding the former, from regent, installed himself *Nabob*, and maintained for himself the government; and the latter was at that time prisoner with *Ragogi*, who had imposed so high a sum as his ransom, that his fortune seemed desperate. All this passed in 1743, the year after *Dupleix* had begun his administration; his mercantile concerns had pervaded *India*, and; according to his account, the *Mogul* had conferred dignities on him. He had been made *Nabob* 4½ *Azary*, *Kammun-Soubdar*, *Zafferzingue Badour* §: and he explained these titles in a letter of the 7th of October, 1742; adding, “The greatest advantages of these titles are the revenues annexed to them, which are very consider-

* Called by the *French*, *Anaverdikan*.

† *Mem. de Dupleix*, p. 41.

‡ *Mem. de la Comp.* p. 28.

§ *Ibid.* p. 29.

able ; but it is not proper to demand them, because to the revenue is annexed the obligation of furnishing the contingent of cavalry for the army whenever it is required *."

Though he affected to despise *ces frivoltés*, he was in fact an *umpire* between the usurpers in the *Carnatic*.

Before *Labordonnois* took *Madras*, in 1746, *Dupleix* had engaged to give it up to *Anwur Ul Dien Khan* †. *Labordonnois*, without *Dupleix*'s knowledge, ransomed the town. These opposite arrangements prevented *Dupleix* from fulfilling his own engagements ; but he would not confirm the quiet possession to the *English*. *Anwur Ul Dien Khan* marched against the *French* at *Madras* ; and *Dupleix* not being able to crush him, after some warfare, entered into new agreements ; and the *Nabob*'s son

* Mem. de la Comp. p. 29.

† Ibid. p. 31.

was received at *Pondicherry* with great honours, in 1747*.

While *Dupleix* had been in treaty to give up *Madras* to *Anwur Ul Dien*, *Chundab Sabe*, from his prison, negotiated the aid of *Dupleix* to pay his ransom, and to depose *Anwur Ul Dien Khan*; in 1745 the *French* Governor lent 240,000 livres of the Company's cash to *Chundab Sabe* towards paying his ransom; and in October *Dupleix* informed the Company, that an army of *Mahrattas* might be expected to establish *Chundab Sabe*, *Nabob* of the *Carnatic*†. *Chundab Sabe*, however, failed in obtaining the aid of the *Mahrattas*: he went to the *Nizam's* court, who would not favour his ambition: the year 1749 opened a new scene which favoured his pretensions.

The *Nizam Ul Moolk* died; his second son, *Nazir Jung*, who had been associated in the Government, and commanded the army, immediately assumed the *Soubaship*

* *Mem. de la Comp.* p. 31.

† *Ibid.* p. 32.

of the *Decan*; he obtained also a *Sunnud* from the *Mogul*. *Chundah Sahib* went instantly to *Muzafa Jung*, the favourite grandson of the late *Soubah*, then *Nabob* of *Adoni*, and offered his assistance and that of Mr. *Dupleix* to support his pretensions to the *Soubahship*, if, in return, he would install him the *Nabob* of *Arcot*, and dispossess *Anwur Ul Dien Khan*. On this agreement the proper *Paravanas* were dispatched; the embassy to *Pondicherry* was received, in the beginning of 1749, with great *eclat*. The Governor, without consulting the superior council, engaged to put all the troops of the Company in the pay of *Chunda Sahib* from the 1st of March; who in return gave Mr. *Dupleix* all the territory of *Villenour*, consisting of 42 *aldees*, situated near *Pondicherry*; in July 1749, the council confirmed his agreement.

The *French* army marched in July to *Arcot*, was joined by *Muzafa Jung's* army, and near the fort *Amour*, *Anwur Ul Dien Khan*, aged 107 years, gallantly maintained the contest: the *French* rallied three times, and the old man being killed, the victory

was complete. The treasure and pillage of the camp was estimated at two millions of *pagodas*, which the *French* took : *Mahomed Ali Khan*, the son of the old *Nabob*, escaped to *Trichinopoly*.

From the letters of the Company to their Governor at *Pondicherry* it is evident they knew very little of native princes : their errors are adduced as evidence of *Dupleix's* having deceived them *, though his plans are not to be mistaken in his letters. “ I will procure a kingdom in *India*, and make you as much respected as other powers, by dethroning two princes, and placing in their states *Chundah Sahib* and *Muzafa Jung*. I will extend your possessions to the gates of *Delhi* ; and, at the bare name of *Frenchman*, all, to the *Mogul*, shall tremble in *Hindostan*. Commerce hitherto has entirely engrossed you ; let us abandon to the *English*, and to our rivals, that object of their jealousy, and let us prepare by our conquests to give them regrets a thousand times

* Letter of the Company, July 15, 1750.

more bitter than those which have been caused by our success in commerce *.”

The treasures of the *Nizamut* having been seized by *Nazir Jung*, the treasures of *Tanjore* became the first object of *Muzafa Jung* and his *Nabob*. In policy he ought to have pursued *Mahommed Ali* to *Trichinopoly*; but at that period the hereditary right of *Mahommed Ali* was no title, though he was the best competitor to oppose to *Chundab Sahab*; and a supply of money was of greater importance to *Muzafa Jung* than the life of *Mahommed Ali*. The King of *Tanjore* called on the *Dutch* and *English* to assist him; and *Muzafa Jung* and *Chunda Sahab* lost a month in a fruitless attempt to take *Tanjore*, which *Mahommed Ali* employed in strengthening *Trichinopoly*; when the *French* with their allies were obliged to collect their forces to oppose *Nazir Jung*, who nominated *Mahommed Ali Nabob* of *Arcot*, and entered the *Carnatic* at the head of 120,000 men,

* Mem. de la Comp. p. 24.

and received homage from the *English* *. The *French* troops mutinied ; *Dupleix*, however, joined *Chundab Sabeb*'s troops under the walls of *Pondicberry* : *Muzafa Jung*, intimidated, surrendered himself to his uncle, who punished his competition by loading him with irons, and proceeded against the *French* and *Chundab Sabeb*. *Dupleix*, on the approach of the *Nizam*, *Nazir Jung*, opened a negociation ; and on the 28th of April he surprised a part of the *Nizam*'s camp, and defeated his army.—After this check *Nazir Jung* retreated to *Arcot*, but returned the October following with 85,000 men, 700 elephants, and 360 pieces of ordnance. *Dupleix* again negotiated ; the *Nizam* having experienced considerable loss, and unwilling that his standard should again retire without victory, received the deputies, and confirmed to the *French* all their former grants. It is evident *Dupleix* had placed his great dependence on a secret negociation with some *Patan* officers and disaffected chiefs ; for, before the final conclusion of the negocia-

* *Orme*, Vol. I.

tion, the *French* forces attacked the *Nizam's* army, three parts of which remained inactive; and when the *Nizam* shewed himself to the army on his elephant, he was shot by one of his *Patan* generals, and the battle ceased*. *Muzafa Jung* was released, and succeeded to the *Nizamut* with the consent of both armies: the investiture over, all the *Nabobs* swore, on the *Koran*, inviolable fidelity to the *new Soubah*, and the *French* interest was re-established.—Some of the same *Patan* chiefs revolted, and *Muzafa Jung* was killed in the engagement. *Bussy* repaired this new misfortune, by immediately promoting *Salabut Jung*, brother to *Nazir Jung*, to the *Nizamut*.

It has been said that *Salabut Jung* was the eldest surviving son of *Nizam Ul Moolk*; he was the eldest of the brothers then prisoners with the army of the *Nizam* in the *Carnatic*. His elder brother, *Gazi Ul Dien* †, obtained the *Mogul's* *Phirmaund* for the *Nizamut*, and marched against *Sala-*

* *Mem. de la Comp.* p. 48.

† *Ibid.* p. 62. *Lettres de Bussy*, June 1752.

but Jung and *Buffy*; fortunately this rival died, and enabled them to unite all their force against *Balaje Row*, the *Mahrattah*, who had invaded part of the *Decan* near *Aurengabad*, and had agreed to support the *English* in maintaining *Mahommed Ali* in the *Carnatic*, by a detachment of 30,000 men from his armies. *Buffy* had the ability to make a treaty with *Balaje Row*, and to confirm *Salabut Jung* in the *Nizamut*. The scene was now so complicated, and the rapid succession of events had dissipated so much treasure, that even *Buffy* thought it necessary to apprise the Company of his opinion. In 1752 Mr. *Buffy* wrote to Mr. *Dupleix*, that it was evident the *Mogul* Empire was near its extinction, and the *Mahrattahs*, rising on its ruin, would soon be masters of *Hindoستان**. The *Nizam's Duan* had informed *Buffy*, that there was no money in the treasury; the *Nizam* could find no resource but to quit the interior of the *Decan* to collect contribution from the *Carnatic*.

* Mem. de la Comp. p. 63.

The *French* treasury was exhausted, having maintained the forces of the *Nizam* and of their Company for two years. The *Sbruffs* were not to be persuaded to lend more money; and the peace with *Balaje Row* had been obtained, from expectation that the *French* would be better able to second his private views of aggrandisement than the *English**. The *French* settlement in the *Circar* of *Rajemundry* had been plundered by *Nazir Jung*. Mr. *Montaran* informed *Dupleix*†, that two years peace had not restored commerce; and that guarding against probable interruptions of projects for empire was as expensive as war; various plans were proposed.

Mr. *Duquesne*'s correspondence with Mr. *Dupleix* suggested the value of *Tanjore*, and the real facility of defending it against all *India*; and that by taking possession of the river of *Pegu*, the projects of the *English* might be defeated, and its exclusive trade secured.

* Mem. de la Comp. p. 57, Feb. 1752.

† Ibid. p. 65.

Buffy, however, cautioned *Dupleix* against falling again too deeply in complicated plans : he informed him, “ that he had no idea of the Government of the *Mogul*; of the internal management of the country; of their manners, and character of the natives * ;” and that the safest way would be not to meddle with any of their affairs : and he fairly told him, that it was difficult to send a person capable of conducting the interests of an *European* nation in *India*. “ D’ailleurs, si vous pouviez être tenté de vous rembarquer, je ne vois pas trop, à vous parler naïvement, qui vous pouviez charger d’une commission si délicate †.” *Buffy* at that time was returning, on account of his ill health, to *Massulipatam*; and he had no sooner quitted *Salabut Jung*, than a change of administration took place. The *French* troops were discontinued from being the *Nizam*’s body guard, and the rivals of the *French* and their native enemies formed the new council of the *Soubah*. The *Paravana* of the

* Mem. de la Comp. p. 64.

† *Buffy*’s Letter, Nov. 29, 1752.

Carnatic, which *Salabut Jung* had given in 1751, for the confirmation of which, by the *Mogul*, 100,000 rupees had been remitted to *Delhi* by the *French**, was of little avail on this emergency. *Dupleix* urged *Bussy* to return to *Aurengabad*, which he did; and, by his decision and personal ability, reinstated the old administration, and obtained the grant of the *Circars*, that the *French* might, from that source of revenue, pay their own troops, independent of the *Carnatic* treasury, intended to be established by the *Nizam* at *Pandicherry*. The *English* policy obviously was to countertermine the *French* policy, and to support *Mahommed Ali* against the *Nizam's Nabob*, *Chundab Sahab*. Their allies were some *Mahrattah* Chiefs, the King of *Tanjore*, the *Nabob* of *Velour*. *Dupleix*, by the aid of *Bussy*, rendered the *French* interest prevalent in the *Decan*; in vain did he remonstrate with Governor *Saunders* against the aid given to *Mahommed Ali*. The arms of the *English*, and more particularly the rising influence and ability of *Clive*, who served

* Mem. de la Comp.

under Major *Lawrence*, prevailed in the *Carnatic*. The disobedience and want of ability of *Law*, opposed to *Lawrence*, began the reverse of *Dupleix's* fortunes, and proved fatal to *Chundab Sabeel*: by raising the siege of *Trichinopoly*, *Law* and the *Nabob* were in their turn cooped up in *Siringham*. The mercenary allies were bribed to desert *Chundab Sabeel*, who surrendered his army and treasures on the most solemn engagement of a safe guard to the *French* settlement. Major *Lawrence*, the *Mahrattas*, and *Mahommed Ali*, could not trust each other with the prisoner, and he was murdered in cold blood. In 1752 *Clive* pursued his career against the *French*, took *Law* prisoner, and established the credit of the *English*. In November 1752 *Bussy* advised *Dupleix* to make the best peace he could with the *English* and *Mahommed Ali*, because the *English*, at *Bombay*, were in negotiation with *Balaje Row*; and notwithstanding that chief's alliance with the *French*, he was not unlikely to be gained over to declare in favour of *Mahommed Ali*; and he wisely observed, that war cannot but be fatal to *Europeans* so long as they arm

against each other *. *Dupleix* was superseded by *Godeheu* in 1753.

It is remarkable, from the transactions of the *English* as well as of the *French*, how rapidly the influence and superiority of *Europeans* were established, after the disorders of the empire admitted of their interference. In 1744, when Commodore *Barnet* appeared on the coast of *Coromandel*, the *Nabob* of the *Carnatic*, *Amur Ul Dien*, informed the Governor of *Madras*, that “the *English* on the coast were, equally with the *French*, obliged to respect his Government; and, if they did not confine their warfare with the *French* to the sea, the *Town of Madras* should answer for their disobedience †.”

When *Labordonnois*, in 1746, took *Madras*, and promised to ransom it, *Dupleix* withheld it from the *English*; he was counteracted, in his own engagements, to give up the settlement to the *Nabob*, by

* *Mem. de la Comp.* p. 77, Nov. 1752.

† *Orme*, Vol. I. p. 2.

which he had averted the *Nabob's* interference; and when he kept possession, the *Nabob* did march against *Dupleix*, and, after a little skirmishing, settled by negotiation, though both parties were aware of their want of sincerity. This, however, was the first instance in which *Dupleix* discovered his pretensions to the right of dispossessing the *English*, under his authority, as Governor General *: he was supported by his court; for *Labordennais*, on his return from his expedition, was kept three years in the Bastille, and died soon after his acquittal: *Dupleix's* defence of *Pondicherry*, in 1748, not only maintained his credit, but also tended to the establishing *Mazafa Khan* in the *Nizamut*, and *Chundab Sabel* in the Government of the *Carnatic*. The *Sunnuds* of *Dupleix* have been disputed; but it cannot be denied that they promoted his negotiations with native princes, at a period when the title of the grantor was so complicated; and in 1750, when the *English* had determined, without appearing principals in the war, to support *Mahommed*

* *Orme*, Vol. I. p. 2.

Ali as *Nabob* of *Arco*t, and obtained a grant of territory round *Madras*, they sent deputies to *Nazir Jung*, at that time supported by Major *Lawrence* and a battalion of *English*, to solicit the confirmation of *Mahommed Ali's* grant: but *Shanavaz Khan*, Minister of *Nazir Jung*, who had also been Minister of *Nizam Ul Moolk*, and was the decided enemy of *Chundab Sahab*, positively refused to issue a *Firmaund*. Major *Lawrence*, wearied with prevarications, insisted on a peremptory answer, when he was assured by *Nazir Jung*, that he should be immediately satisfied, provided he would march with his battalion to *Arco*t, where *Nazir Jung* had determined to go with his whole army. He did not think it prudent to comply with this proposal, lest the *French* and *Chundab Sahab* should take advantage of his absence, and invade the *English* settlements*: It has been asserted, against the *French* honour, that they had obtained from *Nazir Jung* a confirmation of all their former grants, by negotiation, at the time they excited

* *Orine*, Vol. I. p. 49.

the revolt of his *Patan* Generals ; and in 1753, it required much cavil to invalidate the patents which they adduced, though the *English* did not produce any. The *English* Governor found Mr. *Godeheu*, the immediate successor to *Dupleix*, totally ignorant of *India*, and led him into a treaty to establish amity and commerce, by equalising the advantages of both countries in *India*. The first reading of the negotiation in *France* dictated the words of the *French* Minister, which closed the conferences in London, in 1754. “ *Le Roi n’entendoit point que la Compagnie des Indes de France reçut la Compagnie Anglaise* *.” And it is clear that the provisional treaty and truce were not in conformity to the King’s orders. “ *Les circonstances ne m’ayant pas permis de me conformer totalement a vos instructions,*” were the words of Governor *Godeheu*, when he sent home his treaty with Governor *Saunders*. He himself did not wait the arrival of his successor, Mr. *Leyrit* ; and during the administration of *Godeheu*, and of the Commissioners whom he left

* *Mem. de Dupleix*, p. 129.

to administer until his successor should arrive, it required all the intelligence of Mr. *Moracin*, and the ability and exertion of *Buffy*, to keep the interests of *France* in any degree together.

Mr. *Russell* insists on distinguishing the town and dependencies of *Massulipatam* from the *Circars*, and refers to Mr. *Dupleix*'s memoirs, in which its revenue is stated distinctly from those of the *Circars* *. I cannot reject the reference, because no better authority can be referred to. I read in that memoir Mr. *Dupleix*'s opinion of the negotiations, and the extent of the sacrifice which the *French* made when they met the *English*, to treat for equality of possession and influence, as the means of balancing the *French* and *English* Companies in *India*.

Mr. *Dupleix* observes " that *Godeheu* had renounced the benefit of a patent of *Nabob* to all the *French* Governors of *Pondicherry*, and that this title was not empty, for *Salabut Jung* had appointed the *Nabob* of

* Short History, page 60

the *Carnatic*, with express orders that his treasure, or the *Caisse General* of the province, should be deposited at *Pondicherry*, and the armies of *France* should be paid out of the revenues of the *Soubah* * ; but exclusive of the contingent benefit of native alliances, the negotiation had proceeded on ignorance, not only of *India*, and of the interests of *France*, but of the history of mankind ; for in general every nation conducts its own affairs according to its own views in a country, where all *Europeans* have equal rights, and where nations are not responsible to each other for the means they employ to extend their commerce, and increase or secure their establishments † ; the interest maritime powers of *Europe* have to extend political maxims of equality to *India* by proportions understood in *Europe*, since *Indian* commerce existed, has been, and will be, found impracticable ; for perpetual opportunity will offer to overset it, arising from the quarrels and personal interests of native states in *India*."

* *Memoire de Dupleix*, p. 131.

† *Ibid.* page 135.

Dupleix asks, "whether if the *Dutch* and *English*, when they became rivals of the *Portuguese*, had proposed to equalise their possessions, the *Portuguese* would not have considered the proposal as a derision? The *English*, acting by open force, acquired, by right of conquest, advantages they could not expect to gain otherwise: it was the same with the *Dutch*; and these in relation to the *Danes*: the result has not produced equality of commerce and possessions among those three nations."

But to revert to the evidence of *Mr. Dupleix*, whether the financial division of *Massulipatam* was also a political and geographical distinction. He expressly says that *Massulipatam* and the other places named in the articles were part of the province or *Circar* of *Rajemundry*, one of the *Circars* given by the *Soubah* of the *Decan* to pay the *French* army.*

Mr. Moracin, in 1754, expresses his surprise that any one should advise the *French*

* *Memoire de Dupleix*, p. 142.

to abandon *Massulipatam* and *Drvi*; to preserve in peace *Nizampatnam* and *Condavir*. "Whoever made the overture knew neither the *Carte du pays* nor the interests of the Company. It was fortunate (if it is true that the proposal was made by us to the *English*) that the *English* Company was as ignorant as our own company; for I can venture to assert, the *English* would not have rejected an offer which led directly to our entire and instant expulsion from this part of the *Decan*.*" It is not important to enter farther on a subject so fully treated by Mr. *Dupleix*, Mr. *Moracin*, and Mr. *Bussy*, in their memoirs respecting this treaty, in which the *English* had as much more the advantage over *Godeheu*, as *Dupleix* had before over the *English*. It is however not by idle assertion that *Dupleix* exposes the ignorance of his successor; and it appears that the negotiations of the two *European* Governors, for the first time, treated about territory without any reference to the native princes; an innovation Mr. *Bussy*, in better times of the *Soubah*, would not have carried by his

* *Memoire de Dupleix*, p. 154.

ability ; for it appears that *Salabut Jung* was neither ignorant of the treaty nor of its consequences, as appears in Mr. *Bussy's* letter of 15th October 1755. The *Nizam* represented against the determination to support *Mahammed Ali*. " If they consider him in *Europe* to be a prince who has a right to the *Garnatic*, it is an error in them, but it would be a folly in *Mahammed Ali*, of which I will not accuse him, for on all occasions he gives me no other name but master, and he solicits to be received in favour ; in short, he knows that he is no more than a gentleman, such as you have seen his elder brother *Mazoufa Khan*, who deserves to lose his head for the troubles he has occasioned ; and yet, as you know, the state of my affairs requires the aid of the *Europeans* ; I cannot dispense with them ; I must either get the *English* in my interests, or you (Mr. *Bussy*) must remain : hitherto I have been satisfied : are you at present without the inclination or the power to serve me? *"

In this delicate situation *Bussy* was forced to act on his own judgement, contrary to the

* *Memoire de Duplin*, page 164.

impracticable directions of *Godeheu*.* He marched with *Salabut Jung* against the *Rajah* of *Mysore*, and had the address to recover 52 lacks of tribute due to the *Nizam*, and essentially to serve the *Rajah*, an ally of *France*, by overawing *Balaje Row*, who had advanced toward *Mysore*, with an intention to invade it. At this period Mr. *Leyrit*, the new governor, arrived at *Pondicherry*; he entered into *Buffy*'s plans, and wrote in July 1755, that he foresaw the moment the *English* could destroy his footing with *Salabut Jung*, the *French* would be inferior to their rivals, who would not shew them the moderation which they now require from him, † and that the projected equality would in fact prove a decided superiority. The ability of *Buffy* confirmed to the *French* the *Circars*, which had been granted in 1753, and he took the necessary measures to render them a fund of resource, to make his nation independant of the precarious supply of native allies, whose courts had lately been assailed by the intrigues of

* *Memoire de Dupleix*, page 165.

† *Ibid*, p. 171.

two powerful *European* rivals. At this period *Bussy* had regained his influence and credit ; he was connected with the *Grand Vizier* ; had received very flattering letters from the *Mogul*, and his influence over the *Nizam* was as extensive as the “timid disposition of *Salabut Jung** was capable of giving to any one.” The influence of *Shavense Khan*, minister of *Nizam Ul Moolk*, had at all times been adverse to the *French* interest, and *Chundab Sabe* had reason to impute much of his early misfortunes to him. He had been useful to *Nazir Jung*, and continued to give life to the *English* interests, by urging *Nizam Ali* and *Baxalet Jung*, younger brothers of *Salabut Jung*, to usurp the government during the absence of *Bussy*, in 1756, when he was arranging the internal government of the *Circars*. If the *French* detachment had not been at hand when the seals of state were violently

* When *Bussy* invested *Salabut Jung* with the dignity of *Soubah*, on the death of *Muzafa Jung*, he wrote to *Dupleix* in 1752, “Je vous dirai en confiance qu’il est bein facheux pour nous, d’avoir à soutenir un jeune homme aussi foible & aussi peureux que *Salabut Jung*. Mem. de la Compagnie, page 62.

taken from *Salabut Jung*, in all probability his life also would have been taken ; the government became absolutely in the hands of the usurpers, but it was executed in the name of *Salabut Jung*.

The ability of *Buffy* again saved the *Nizam* ; he went to *Aurungabad** and in the face of *Nizam Ali* with the army from *Berar*, of *Bazalet Jung*, with the army from *Adoni*, and of *Balaje Row* in person, with an army of *Mabrattabs*, determined to take advantage of the confusion, he restored *Salabut Jung* ; got possession of *Dolta ad*, the fortress of *Shavanesse*, which the *Mabrattab* was desirous to accept from either party as the price of his assistance, and effectually restored the old administration. † *Nizam Ali* procured the assassination of *Hyder Beg*, ‡ and fled to *Brampour* in May. The friends of *Hyder Beg* murdered *Shavanesse Khan*, and his son *Mahomed*, *Duan* to the Emperor, and their adherents. *Sala-*

* Orme, Vol. II. page 341.

† Ibid. page 344.

‡ Ibid. page 348.

but *Jung* was scarcely re-established, when M. *Conflans* brought a letter from *Lally* to Mr. *Buffy*, dated the 10th May, announcing his recall. * With his usual ability he conciliated *Bazalet Jung*, by promising him the government of *Hyderabad*; and obeyed the peremptory order of *Lally*, dated the 13th June, to repair to *Pondicherry* with all his forces, and to take Mr. *Moracin* in his way, who had the same orders, at *Massulipatam*; he delivered over his command to M. *Conflans*, and both he and *Salabut Jung* forboded the fatal consequences. †

Lally had arrived from *France* with a reinforcement of regulars, and of money, which he deemed sufficient to establish the *French Empire in India*; with a suite of young nobility, he acquired a momentary *eclat* which superseded cautious policy; after taking Fort *St. Davids*, *Lally* ordered it to be razed to the ground. He wrote to *Buffy* in the *Decan*, “ when I shall be master of *Madras*, I shall go to the *Ganges*

* *Orme*, Vol. II. page 351

† *Ibid.* page 352.

“ by land or sea ; my policy, in one word, “ is, no *Englishman* in the peninsula of *India*.” After the capture of Fort *St. Davids*, the attack of *Madras*, and the conquest of the *Nabob*’s country to the north, *Chittapitt* and *Vandiwash*, weak by the retreat of the *English* garrisons, did not escape the Governor *de Leyrit*. But the advice of *Lavaur*, a missionary, and desire of acquiring a rapid supply of treasure, determined *Lally* to proceed against *Tanjore*, under pretence of restoring *Gatica*, uncle to the deposed King of *Tanjore*, whom the *English*, in consideration of the cession of *Devi Kotah*, had engaged to prevent from asserting his pretensions against the usurper. *Gatica* had been taken by *Lally* in Fort *St. Davids*. * The progress towards *Tanjore* and the unsuccessful negotiation for contribution, and disgraceful retreat of the *French* army, after being foiled by the natives, and 40 *Europeans* detached by the *English* from *Trichinopoly*,† are sufficiently known. *Lally*

* *Orme*, Vol. II page 318.

† *Orme*, Vol. II. p. ix. *Essais historiques sur l’Inde*, M. de la *Flotte*, p. 41.

had begun a new plan of operation by the attack of *Trinomallee*, when *Buffy* joined his army in September, 1758. The rank he held was only Lieutenant Colonel ; *Lally* had brought from *France* one Brigadier General and six Colonels ; the names of those officers are recorded * for the public zeal which they shewed in signing a request that *Buffy* might supersede them, and be appointed Brigadier General, to which *Lally* could not object, though he imputed the compliment to the influence of *Buffy*'s money, instead of his reputation. When all the forces of the *French* had joined in November, they consisted of 4000 *Europeans*, and 3000 *Sepoys*. A small supply of money brought by *Moracin* and some treasure from *Mauritius* enabled *Lally* to proceed at last to the siege of *Madras*, and both parties were equally solicitous concerning the event of the expedition from *Bengal* into the *Northern Circars*, defended by *Conflans*.

Vizeram Raufe had been selected by *Buffy* as the most useful and acceptable man to

* *Orme*, vol. II. page 370.

act in the capacity of chief in the *Northern Circars*; he had been *Zemindar* of *Rajah-mundram* and *Cicacole*, and was succeeded in those districts by *Anunderause Gauze Petty*, who was dissatisfied with the judicious arrangements of *Bussy*; and when he saw him involved at *Aurangabad* by the animosity of *Nizam Ali*, and recalled by *Lally*, he first sent offers to *Madras* to assist in taking the four provinces from the *French*; * but that government could not spare any part of its force. He made the offer to the *Bengal* government, in July 1758, and all except *Clive* considered the offer to be chimerical. † He knew how to estimate the difference of being opposed to the experience of *Bussy* and *Moracin*, or to the inexperience of *Conflans*; he detached Colonel *Ford*, who defeated *Conflans*, before the batteries of *Lally* had opened on the Fort of *St. George* at *Madras*; and *Bussy* had not joined *Lally* in the *Carnatic* before *Nizam Ali* was again in arms against *Salabut Jung*, who depended only on the fortrefs and army

* *Orme*, vol. II. page 355.

† *Ibid.*

at *Daltabad*; but *Bazalut Jung* marched with his army from *Adoni*: they both concurred in thinking the opportunity favourable to reannex the provinces to the *Soubabship*. They marched towards *Masfulipatam*, to take advantage of events in the contest between the *French* and *English*. Colonel *Ford* having driven *Constans* into *Massfulipatam*, received the news from *Madras*, the 6th of March, 1759, that *Lally* had lost a third of his army by the fire of the *English*, by desertion and sickness, and had raised the siege on the appearance of a reinforcement from *Bombay**. Colonel *Ford*, with much gallantry and prudence, quelled a mutiny of his troops, and, notwithstanding the desertion of *Anunderause* and other renters who had joined the *English*, and obeyed the order of *Salabut Jung* to retire to their districts, he sent deputies to amuse *Salabut Jung*, and to warn the renters of the dangers to which they exposed themselves; and carried the fort by assault, and took possession of the town. *Salabut Jung* perceived, too

* Mem. Hist. sur l'Inde, p. 47.

late, the consequence of his delay : he consulted with the *French* how to lessen the misfortune, while *Rajah Anunderaufe* regained the *Goadaveri* by hasty marches, and in two days was out of the reach of pursuit *. Two months after, *Lally* retired from *Madras* ; he detached Mr. *Moracin* with 500 *Europeans*, by sea, to *Masulipatam* ; but he arrived too late. *Salabut Jung* received Colonel *Ford* with attention, being alarmed by the application which *Clive* had made to *Nizam Ali* to favour the successes of the *English* against the *French* in the *Circars* †. No treaty was formed ; but Colonel *Ford* having forwarded the dispatches, *Nizam Ali* advanced with his army toward *Hyderabad*, giving out that he intended to reform the administration ; *Salabut* was in doubt whether the *French* or *English* would be most likely to assist him ; and *Bazalut Jung* counteracted the negotiations with Colonel *Ford*, being inclined to the *French*. It is certain that the *Nizam*, *Salabut Jung*, left the *English*, in disgust,

* Orme, Vol. II. p. 490.

† Ibid. p. 191.

in May 1759, in possession of *Mussulipatam*; and the *French* evacuated the *Circars*, on assurance, from *Baxalut Jung*, of being taken into his service. The Presidency of *Madras* appointed Mr. *Andrews*, with a council, to manage the revenue and trade; and Colonel *Ford* remained for instructions, from the Presidency of *Bengal**. The conquest was made under *Clive's* orders, the cession of the country having been previously obtained from the *Mogul*, in perpetuity to the *English*.

Lally had left *Buffy*, ill and disgusted, at *Pondicherry*; the increasing difficulties of the *French* called him forth to repair the consequence of his recall from the *Decan*. *Salabut Jung*, considering the *French* interest desperate, opened a negotiation with *Nizam Ali*, and submitted to the same dependence from which *Buffy* had relieved him†. His brother, *Baxalut Jung*, *Duan* to *Salabut*, at the head of an army, would not assent to the arrangement, and joined

* *Orme*, Vol. II. p. 493.

† *Ibid.* p. 504.

the *French* under *Conflans*, and marched to levy contributions, and to deter the northern *Polygars* from giving any assistance to the *English*. *Lally* had divided his army after the raising the siege of *Madras*; one part was sent to *Cheringham*, and the remainder was encamped at *Vandewash*: he sent *Buffy* to preserve the co-operation of *Bazalut Jung* *; but such was the want of money in the *Carnatic*, that the *French* army mutinied, three weeks after the first battle of *Vandewash*, in which the *French* had maintained their ground. The detachment sent to escort *Buffy* also mutinied; he therefore sent back all except his white and black cavalry and two hundred volunteers, whom he paid, during their expedition, out of his private fortune: he proceeded to *Bazalut Jung* †, and returned in time to raise the siege of *Arcot*, which the *English* had formed, after their success in October at *Vandewash*. The decisive victory of the *English*, in January 1760, had been well contested: *Buffy*, after hav-

* *Orme*, Vol. II. p. 533.

† *Ibid.* p. 547. His agreement with *Bazalut Jung*.

ing rallied his corps three times, was taken prisoner *, and, in consideration of his generosity to the *English* factory when he took *Vizagapatam*, the gallant *Coote* permitted him to repair to *Pondicherry* from the field of battle. *Bussy* did not, even then, consider the affairs of *France* as irretrievable; nevertheless, the best ability would have been perplexed what measure to pursue after the defeat. *Lally* perceived the ruinous separation of his army, and the difficulty of uniting them; he recalled the southern detachment; the necessity of treasure to pay the army was present, and all prudential considerations gave way. He applied to the *European* renters of the *French* Company's districts: the loss of *Vanderwaas* and *Chittapitt* prevented their making advances; and the expedients of Governor *Leyrit* and the Council were not sufficiently prompt in *Lally's* opinion. He, therefore, took the whole of the Company's territory from the *European* renter, and accepted an advanced rent from *Rama Linga*, a *Malabar*, to whom he had farmed the

* *Orme*, Vol. II. p. 596

district round *Arcot* while he possessed them; he farmed the whole at 1,750,000 rupees *per annum*: at the time of the agreement there was sufficient grain on the ground for the most ample supply of *Pondicherry*; but money was more scarce than victuals*; and the new farmer was permitted to sell his grain, that he might pay his rent in coin into the treasury, instead of delivering grain, as his acquittal, into the magazines†. When the *English* army advanced between *Gingee* and *Pondicherry*, he could not but see his error then, irretrievable.

In this stage of distress, *Hyder Ally* opened his career as a Sovereign; advanced from a soldier to the command of the *Mysorean* army, he had taken the *Mysorean* King out of the hands of *Delaway*, his uncle, who had agreed to retire to the fort of *Mysore* with a *Jagbeer*. *Hyder* thus uncontrolled, usurped the administration from the King, a young, a weak, and timid

* *Orme*, Vol. II. p. 602

† *Ibid.* p. 636.

prince; and to guard against a reverse, *Hyder* conveyed his treasure to *Thiagur*, a strong fortress in the *Carnatic*; and by means of *Merogmba*, a *Portuguese* missionary, *Bishop* of *Halicarnassus*, he at this period negotiated with the *French*, in consideration of that and another fort, and 100,000 rupees a month, to send 2000 cavalry and 3000 sepoy with artillery into the *Carnatic*; this diversion increased the calamity of the country, without recovering the fortune of *Lally*. The *Christian Bishop* with the *Mahrattas*, though they did not fight, plundered all the villages dependant on the *French*, when *Lally* retreated to *Pondicherry**; in January 1761, that beautiful settlement was surrendered to the *British* arms. *Pigot* and *Dupré* passed the night, previous to the surrender, in the trenches with *Coote* and his principal officers. The 16th of January, the *French* line, consisting of 1100 men, deposited their arms, all wearing the face of famine, fatigue; and disease; and there was only provision for two days short allowance left.

* *Fragmens sur l'Inde.*

The black inhabitants had been turned out of *Pondicherry*, in November, to the amount of 1400, whom the humanity of *Coste* permitted, to pass, emaciated by famine. “ The victor soldier gave his sigh (which none but banditti could refuse), to this solemn contemplation of the fate of war, which might have been his own *.”

The Company's Governor, *Pigot*, insisted on *Pondicherry* being given up to the Company by virtue of the patent of January 1758, which regulates the Company's shared title to captures, and declared if it was not given up the Company would not advance any more money. Neither the Admiral nor Commander of the King's troops were authorised to draw bills on the Government of *England* on such an exigency ; the council of war, therefore, submitted to the requisition, but protested against the insult it conveyed against the King's prerogative, and declared the Presidency responsible for the consequences †.

* *Orme*, Vol. II. p. 723.

† *Ibid.* p. 724.

The 5th of April, 1761, terminated the long-contested hostilities between the two rival *European* powers in *Coromandel*, and left not a single ensign of the *French* nation, avowed by the authority of its government, in any part of *India*, for the troops which had gone away to *Mysore* were hereafter to be regarded as a band of military adventurers seeking fortune and subsistence. Mr. *Pigot*, to obstruct the re-establishment of the *French* power by a general peace, ordered the total demolition of the town and fortifications of *Pondicherry*, for which *Lally*, by razing fort *St. Davids*, had given a precedent.

Circumstances were not wanting to aggravate the prejudices against the unfortunate *Lally*; his contempt of the Company's servants, and his ignorance of the usages of *India*, led him into many difficulties; the acknowledged talents of *Buffy* excited his envy; the intrigues of interested missionaries surrounded him. *Lavaur*, a Jesuit, who urged his attack on *Tanjore*, and had been one of the deputies sent to capitulate, had composed two memoirs, one

to justify, and another to defame *Lally's* conduct; they were found among his papers by the officers of justice after his return to *France*. He had solicited a pension of £.20 a year, pretending he had been ruined at *Pondicherry*, and when he died, property to the value of £.60,000 sterling was found in his room*. The bankruptcy of three million of *livres* which *Valitte*, superior of the *West-Indian* mission, had brought on, at this time † opened the eyes of a few, and strengthened the prejudices of many. Of the many charges against *Lally*, “no one particular crime, but the general tenor of his conduct, decided the judgement.” The judge who explained the arrêt ‡, after it was executed, had opportunity to know that the fortune of *Lally* did not pay the amount allotted by it to the poor of *Pondicherry*; the King's bounty was known to have relieved the distressed of his family; the testimony of the *English* acquit him of every charge

* *Fragmens sur l'Inde & Lalli*, p. 137.

† *Orme*, Vol. II. p. 735.

‡ *Fragmens sur l'Inde*, p. 153.

affecting his true allegiance to his King or his personal courage.

The *English* had always kept clear of the intrigues of missionaries ; when *Chandernagore* was taken from the *French* by *Clive*, in 1757, much interest was made to leave the *Jesuits* there ; he answered, “ the *Jesuits* may go where they please except to the *English* settlements *.”—The critical situation of *Europeans* in *India* at this period, require a few words on the transactions in *Bengal*.

Some months after the arrival of Governor *Leyrit*, in 1755, the interests of *France* appeared to revive by the ability of *Buffy*. The death of *Ali Verdi Khan*, in April, 1756, put *Serajah Dowlah* in possession of the *Soubahdarry* of *Bengal*, agreeable to the will of his grandfather, who had obliged his officers to do him homage as *Soubah* independant of the *Mogul*. The new *Nabob* had taken *Calcutta* in June, 1756, and the Governor and all the fac-

* *Fragmens sur l'Inde*, p. 89.

tory who escaped the Black Hole were on board the ships in the river*. In October, 1756, Colonel *Clive* was sent with about 2,000 land forces on board Admiral *Watson's* fleet to *Calcutta*; he was invested by the Presidency of *Madras* with independant power in all military matters and operations, and authorised to draw bills. The Court of Directors had appointed Mr. *Drake*, with three Members of the Council, to act as a Select Committee in the conduct of all political and military affairs†; the Committee had associated Major *Kirkpatrick*, and they added Mr. *Watson* and Colonel *Clive* to their Board. The successes of *Clive* terminated the reign of *Serajah Dowlah* by the battle of *Plassey*, 26th of June, 1757‡, the correspondance of *Bussy* and *Law* with *Serajah Dowlah* fell into his hands, and the conduct of a counteraction of the progress of the *French* in the *Decan* and in the

* *Orme*, Vol. II. p. 88.

† *Ibid.* p. 121.

‡ *Reports*, Vol. I. p. 16. Lord *Clive's* account to the Committee of the House of Commons.

Circars, devolved exclusively on him, the Presidency of *Madras* being unable to detach any force to that quarter. The Company's arrangements, in consequence of the loss of *Calcutta*, were received there in June 1758: the first arrangement of the Directors after receiving the bad news, had been, the appointment of a temporary Committee of five persons to manage their affairs in *Bengal*, in which *Clive* was to preside; but in *November* they determined to dismiss Mr. *Drake* from the government, and nominated a Council of ten, in which the four senior Members were to preside alternately, each for three months; in this succession of the four, Mr. *Watts* stood the first; the others were Mr. *Manningham*, Mr. *Beecher*, and Mr. *Holwell*, who were not yet returned from *England*, and Colonel *Clive* was not included in the new arrangement. The three leading Members in the Council were impressed with the difficulty of the public affairs, and proposed to the rest that *Clive* should be requested to accept of the Government under the usual modes; the vote was una-

nimous, and the tender was made and accepted on the 26th of June*.

Thus we see the interest of the Company, and of *Great Britain*, was vested, contrary to the arrangement of the Company, in the hands of *Clive*; and it is remarkable, that the same honourable and patriotic spirit had raised *Bussy*, near the same time, to a rank which the councils of *France* had not allotted to him. Those who review the proceedings in *Bengal* at the period of the revolution, should remember the circumstances of the Company at the period of the fall of fort *St. David*; and those who consider the character of *Bussy*, should remember that the honourable testimony of the field officers who came with *Lally* from *France* could give him no more than the station of third in command, and that their testimony rather strengthened than weakened the jealousy of *Lally*.

The peace in 1763 did not prove that

* *Orme*, Vol. II. p. 355.

the negociators had acquired a perfect knowledge of *India*; but it was fortunate that the subject was not left to the protracted negotiations of the two companies*. Lord *Clive* expressed himself in these words to the Proprietors † :

“ I flatter myself every proprietor must reflect with infinite pleasure on the benefit of these great and glorious successes, now secured to them by the eleventh article of the definitive treaty.

“ Although there are some geographical errors, such as making the *Soubah* of *Bengal*'s dominion extend near 200 miles more than they do, to *Yanam*, and making that place the *northern* instead of the most southern part of the coast of *Orixa*; the acknowledging *Salabut Jung* lawful *Soubah* of the *Decan*, and *Mahomed Ali Carwn* lawful *Nabob* of the *Carnatic*, had been better omitted, for several reasons, and

* Mr. *Ruffell* states that the affairs of *India* had escaped notice till some time after the preliminaries were signed. *Short History*, p. 66.

† *Clive*'s Letter to the Proprietors, 1794, p. 10.

may be productive of disputes hereafter between the two companies ; yet, upon the whole, the article is very advantageous to the Company.

“ As my opposition originally arose from the defects of the preliminary articles, in which the interest of the *East-India* Company appeared to me to be much exposed, it affords me a very particular pleasure to think I have been any ways instrumental to the amendment of that article relative to the Company.”

Mr. *Russell* has not taken notice of this article of the treaty of *Paris*; he begins his account of the acquisition of the *Circars**, “ The new *Soubah*, *Nizam Ally*, derived his right to the government from the grant of the *Mogul*,” and we might suppose he had continued from that time the legal *Soubah*. I have included in the above abstract the real pretensions of the many natives whom different interests or parties denominate differently ; I have also traced

* *Short History*, 2d edit. p. 65.

the brilliant speculations of *France* to their close. It was proved that the different *French* administrations, from 1727 to 1769, had furnished to the Company *three hundred and seventy-six millions of livres*, without its having ever paid the interest of its capital from the profits of its commerce, which however was made up by *nine millions of livres* annually allowed to the Company out of the *Ferme des Tabacs* *.

I have entered more at length into the projects of Governor *Dupleix* and *Monf. Buffy* to recall the memory of the circumstances of *India* during the real period of contest. The deep persevering policy of the *French* cabinet maintained the contest after the victory had been decided in the favour of *Great Britain*: the ability of *Hyder Ally* favoured their projects, and no expence was spared to rebuild and fortify *Pondicherry*; but being unwilling to leave all their magazines and force cooped up in one fortress in the peninsula of *India*, in which the *English* could take the field with

* *Fragmens sur l'Inde.*

with infinite advantages, the isles of *France* and *Bourbon* became depots of armies and stores, from whence they might send their succour either to the coast of *Malabar* or of *Coromandel*, as the circumstances might require. A corps of *French* served constantly with *Hyder*; *French* engineers enabled him to render his fortresses more respectable. *Hyder* was allowed to be a good judge of the ground for action; his disposition for making or for receiving attacks were admired; his infantry were regimented, but never could resist the *English* sepoy; his artillery was numerous; the pieces he brought into the field were of very great calibres, and chiefly worked by *Europeans*; he unlimbered his guns behind ravines, or on ground which would permit him to draw them off at pleasure; he could throw his heavy shot over the *English* army before the *English* light train were within distance to open upon his line; when it advanced, *Hyder* limbered up, and his cannon were drawn off by elephants and excellent oxen; large bodies of cavalry covered their retreat, in such number, that it retarded our line until the

pursuit of the guns was ineffectual. He taxed every thing, even plunder; by the management of his *Bazars*, the money he paid to his troops reverted to his treasury, and when money has been scarce, he has been known to make his troops receive men and women prisoners taken in the *Carnatic* at his own valuation, who were sent into *Mysore* to cultivate the lands; he would not establish a cartel; and when large corps of cavalry have charged our line they have been generally intoxicated; whenever they have succeeded, the fate of the defeated has been horrid. The instruction and aid which *Hyder* acquired from the *French* since 1763 was politically employed by him to his own aggrandisement; his various usurpations and conquests united the *Bedenore* and *Zamorines* countries to *Mysore*; and there is no doubt but *Hyder* expected to extirpate the *English* by the aid of the *French*. In 1782 the agents of *France* had promised a powerful squadron and 10,000 *Europeans*. He employed the *Europeans* in his armies with much ability, keeping them in complete dependance; and the object of *France* was

attained by making him more formidable to the *English*. His dissatisfaction at being so feebly supported when he invaded the *Carnatic*, notwithstanding the efforts of the *French* at that period were extraordinary, and at a vast expence, made him anxious to complete the conquest of the *Malabar* coast; and previous to his last attack on the *Travancore* country, he had sent embassies to the *Porte* and to *France*, to give greater lustre to his projected empire.

It will not admit of dispute, that the *British* force, by sea and land, at the close of the war in 1783, was superior to the *French*; and that by mismanagement alone the barbarity and indignity offered by *Tip-poo* to the *English* passed unrevenged at that period: the preliminaries of peace came opportunely for all parties, from the critical situation in which they had nearly averaged themselves. Messrs. *Sadlier* and *Staunton* brought accounts to *Cuddalore* of the conclusion of peace between *England* and *France*, and orders for a cessation of hostilities. The Marquis de *Buffy*, who commanded both the land and sea forces

of *France*, without hesitation accepted the notification as authentic; he saw the object for which he had left *France*, more favourably arranged by the cabinets in *Europe* for the benefit of his countrymen, than he could have any reasonable hope to have accomplished by the continuance of hostilities; he was aware of the distraction of our councils in *India*, and he knew his experience in negotiating with the native powers might be important in settling the construction of the sixteenth article of the preliminaries, which regarded the *Indian* powers. With much decision he sent word to the *English* General, that the *Mysores* were in alliance with his Most Christian Majesty; that the detachment at *Cuddalore* was part of his army, and must be included in the cessation of hostilities; that in pursuance to the desire of the Deputies, he had forwarded their letters to the *English* commanders of detachments, and to *Tippoo*; but in case he declined to accept the pacification, *Bussy* assured them he would desist from assisting him, even before the four months expired. *Tippoo* received the news with great displeasure,

but sent his *Vakeels* to *Cuddalore*, to negotiate with us through M. de *Buffy*; Sir *Edward Hughes* and General *Stuart* protested against treating any farther through the medium of the *French* commander in chief, without the order of the Supreme Board; thus was Monf. de *Buffy* left to manage the *French* interests distinctly, and the hostilities of the detached forces against *Tippoo* were suspended until it was known whether he would accede to the peace.

Enriched, and grown insolent by the event of the war, *Tippoo* established order in his extensive dominions; his revenue regulations will justify the reputation of his ability and good system; his persecution of the *Nairs* in the year 1784, for having assisted the *English*, was preparatory to his favourite object; a dispute with the *Mabrattabs* in 1785 delayed its execution, and in 1786 he concluded one of his most brilliant campaigns against the united force of the *Nizam* and the *Mabrattabs*, by a peace favourable to his interest, and he became secure in his northern frontier. *Tippoo*, encouraged by the passive

policy in the commencement of the Marquis *Cornwallis's* government, and by the unjustified conduct of the Governor of *Madras*, became emboldened to make an open attack on the *Rajah* of *Travancore*, the faithful ally of the *English*. Every insult having proved ineffectual to make them the aggressors, *Tippoo* entered the eastern extremity of the lines with 16,000 of his best troops; he obtained possession of about three miles, when he suffered that memorable repulse which cost him the flower of his army on the 29th of December. Three battalions, all *Nairs*, and 500 archers, in all 3,000 men, stimulated by the cause of their country and of their religion, were crowned with victory.

The politic and honourable support which Lord *Cornwallis* instantly gave to the *Rajah* of *Travancore*, in fact, saved the *Hindoo*s; those who had considered and knew the circumstances of the peninsula of *India*, heard the comments of some great statesmen in *England* with concern. The power of *Great Britain* has been shewn under Lord *Cornwallis*, and the confidence of the

Hindoos may be confirmed, and the defence of the *Carnatic* become more certain and less expensive, if proper steps are taken to connect the *Hindoos* of the peninsula in a general defensive alliance.

C H A P. XVIII.

On the military Establishments and Service in India,

WHEN Lord *Clive* returned to *India*, in 1765, the fate of *British India* again rested on his decision ; he wrote, in April, from *Madras*, to one of the Directors *, “ We have at last arrived at that critical period, which I have long foreseen ; I mean that period which renders it necessary for us to determine whether we can, or shall, take the whole to ourselves. *Sujah Dowla* is beat from his dominion ; we are in pos-

* Appendix to the *East-India* Report, Vol. I. No. 82.

session of it, and it is scarcely hyperbole to say, to-morrow the whole *Mogul* Empire will be in our power : a large army of *Europeans* will effectually preserve us sovereigns. You will, I am sure, imagine, with me, that after the length we have run, the Princes of *Hindoستان* must conclude our views to be boundless ; they have seen such instances of our ambition, that they cannot suppose us capable of moderation ; the very *Nabobs* whom we might support would be either covetous of our possessions, or jealous of our power. Ambition, fear, avarice, would be daily watching to destroy us ; a victory would be but a temporary relief to us ; for the dethroning of the first *Nabob* would be followed by setting up another. We must, indeed, become *Nabobs* ourselves, in fact, if not in name ; perhaps so totally without disguise : but on this subject I cannot be certain until my arrival in *Bengal*. Let us, without delay, complete our *three European* regiments, to 1000 each ; these, with 500 light cavalry, *three* or *four* regiments of artillery, and the forces of the country, will certainly render us invincible : in short, if riches and

security are the objects of the company, this is the method, the only method now, for securing them."

When Lord *Clive* assumed the government, on his arrival in *Bengal*, in May 1765, he addressed the committee * ; " the success of the forces, which I had the honor to command in the year 1757, completed a revolution in favor of *Meer Jaffer*, an event on which the existence of the *East-India* Company at that time depended; the treaty concluded with him was productive of large advantages to the *nation*, as well as to *individuals*, and seemed to insure the Company greater benefits than they had ever before enjoyed.

" My successors soon after my departure thought proper to raise *Coffin Ali Khan* to the *Soubahship*, the consequences of which, whatever was the cause, had been unfortunate.

" A very few days are elapsed since our arrival ; and yet, if we consider what has

* Report, Vol. 1. Append. N. 84.

already come to our knowledge, we cannot hesitate a moment on the necessity of assuming the power that is in us, of conducting, as a select committee, the affairs, both civil and military, of this settlement. What do we hear of, what do we see, but anarchy, confusion, and, what is worse, an almost general corruption?"

In the preceding review of the different periods of *British* Government, I endeavoured to ascertain the principles of the civil administration. It will be necessary to advert cursorily to the advantages which *Lord Clive* refers to, exclusive of the revenues, consisting of treasure exacted on different accounts, of which the principal head was distinguished as *restitution*, or money paid to the Company for damages, by the capture of *Calcutta*, and for expences incurred by the war*:

By <i>Meer Jaffier</i> , in 1757	1,200,000
By <i>Meer Cossim</i> , in 1760	62,500

* General state attested by auditor of *India* accounts. Report of Committee of Secrecy. Append. N. 10.

By <i>Meer Jaffier</i> , on his restoration, in 1763	375,000
By <i>Sujah Dowlah</i> , on making peace, in 1765	583,333
	<hr/>
	£. 2,220,833

In the same period, individuals received from the princes and natives of *Bengal* :

On deposing <i>Serajah Dowlah</i> , and advancing <i>Meer Jaffier</i> to the Government, in 1757.	1,238,575
On deposing <i>Meer Jaffier</i> , in favour of <i>Cossim</i> , in 1760	200,269
On restoring <i>Meer Jaffier</i> , in 1763	437,499
Present received by two commanders of the army	62,666
On the accession of <i>Najim Ul Dowlah</i> , <i>Meer Jaffier</i> 's son, in 1765	139,357
Received of the King, Queen, Mother, and one of the Princes, in 1765, and 1766	90,999
Received of <i>Meer Jaffier</i> , in 1757	600,000

Received of <i>Meer Jaffier</i> again,	
in 1763	600,000
	<hr/>
	£. 3,369,365
	<hr/>

Exclusive of Lord *Clive's* *Jageer* *.

It might be supposed that this supply of ready money had answered the extraordinary charges of a change of system, and that the revenues would have defrayed the current charges of the new establishments. If we did not recollect, that the provinces of *Bengal* were not the only charges on the Company. When *Clive* left *Madras*, to complete the revolution, in 1757, the Company found themselves so reduced and exhausted by the continued drains from the commencement of the troubles on the *coast*, in 1746, that they had been obliged to desist from sending the *usual* supplies of money to their settlements abroad, excepting only some inadequate consignments of silver to *China* †. *Madras* and *Bengal* were

* Account annexed to the Report of the Committee. Short History of the revolution in *Bengal*, page 133.

† *Vanfittart's* Letter to the Proprietors, p. 8. 1767.

enjoined to give all possible assistance to that important trade, at the same time to provide for their own military and civil charges, and the purchase of investment or cargoes for their ships, and likewise to supply the settlement of *Bombay* with what money might be wanted there.

The *English* certainly had a preferable claim to full participation of restitution money; but the *natives* only received $\frac{1}{10}$ and a quarter of a sixteenth, or $\frac{1}{32}$ of the amount of their losses: the *Armenians* received their bare principal; and the *English* received their full principal, with 20 *per cent.* interest, and an overplus of 50 lacks remained in the Company's treasury; the *English* inhabitants, notwithstanding such receipt, sued the Company in chancery for the overplus*. It has been objected to *Clive*, that he neglected, or did not understand, the interest of the Company, in not obtaining a larger revenue, independent of the restitution money†. The difficulty of

* *Vanfittart's* Letter to the Proprietors, 1767, p. 109.

† *Ibid.* p. 68.

obtaining an extension to the north of *Calcutta* was stated by Lord *Clive* ; it was obtained from *Meer Jaffier*, by lending him 25 lacks ; and when it is considered that *Meer Jaffier*, at the battle of *Plassey*, acted precisely in the manner which best suited his interest ; that *Clive* had also engagements with *Ramnarain*, *Nabob* of *Patna*, and also with *Omarbeg*, the *Fougedar* of *Houghly*, their separate interests rested on the personal authority of Lord *Clive*. His influence over *Meer Jaffier* was certainly great ; but when *Clive* left the Government to gentlemen, who plainly declared their opinion, that the dependance on a *Nabob* would be more ruinous than if the Company became *Nabob*, the consequences of universal mistrust were inevitable. *Clive* had seen the necessity of vigor to counteract the *Dutch*, whose letters to *Meer Jaffier* afterwards fell into our hands * ; and it appears he had agreed “ that the *Dutch* should bring into the province a military force to join his, and curb a power which was represented as dangerous :” and the *Dutch* chief, without the

* Appendix to the *English* Memorial, No. 6.

least reserve, puts *Meer Jaffier* in mind of this agreement in one of the letters before mentioned*. The Court of Directors, in 1760, instructed Mr. *Vanfittart* not to protect natives, merely to enable them to defraud their master; on the principle, that they are always bad subjects who apply for foreign protection; as soon as they are assured of it, they keep no longer within bounds of respect; and their own ruin and their master's becomes the immediate consequence. Orders to this effect were issued in September, 1761, by the Governor and Council †, “ declaring it to be contrary to engagements between the *Nabob* and the Company to interfere in the support of any *Zemindar*, or other person holding office, grant, or authority, under the government;” and thereby those whose safety had been *guaranteed*, were abandoned to their fate.

When Mr. *Vanfittart* arrived in *India*, the King's and Company's troops were ad-

* *Vanfittart's* Letter to the Proprietors, 1767, p. 34.

† *Vanfitt.* Narr. Vol. I. p. 92.

vancing towards *Pondicherry*. When he reached *Bengal* he found one single lack of *rupees* in the treasury *, and an arrear of 23 lacks, due by *Meer Jaffier*, which Governor *Holwell* despaired of realising immediately. The necessity of affairs obliged the select committee to deliberate; and the change of *Meer Jaffier's* ministers, and a participation of his revenues were resolved on, and the monthly payment of one lack having been precarious, the participation of the Company was to be commuted for the sole right to certain districts †; In short, it was deemed indispensable to do in *Bengal*, what *Bussy* had found to be indispensable, when he obtained the absolute grant of the *Circars*. Mr. *Vanfittart* describes the necessity to have arisen from the change of our relation to *India*: “ before the capture of *Calcutta*, 200 or 250 soldiers composed the whole force of *Bengal*: without seapoys, without artillery, camp equipage, without field allowances, without fortifications, and an innumerable train

* *Vanfittart's* Letter to the Proprietors, p. 15.

† *Ibid.* page 16.

of incidental articles*.” When *Clive* left *Bengal*, after the revolution, the number of men will be found to be increased forty fold and the other concurrent expences in a much greater proportion : a fortification fit to command an empire succeeded to the old fort, or factory, at *Calcutta* ; and an alliance made with the *Nabob* of the provinces, by which the Company became his protectors, and the sole defenders of his country, instead of being a factory of merchants trading under his permission and good pleasure †.

To bring this plan into effect, *Meer Cossim* was promised the confirmation of the appointment of the *Neabut*, to which *Meer Jaffier*, his father-in-law, had destined him ‡, and the succession to the government after *Meer Jaffier*’s death. He on his part engaged to procure us from the *Nabob* a grant of the districts of *Burdwan*, *Mid-*

* *Vanfittari*’s Letter to the Proprietors, page 20.

† Ibid. p. 21. *Scrafton* Sketch, p. 125 and 126.

‡ *Vanfitt*. Narrative, Vol. I. p. 41 and 74.

napore, and *Chittagong*, computed to produce £. 600,000 *per annum* *. It was imagined this revenue would enable the Company to defray its expences, and the *Nabob* might be permitted to enjoy the remainder. The failure of these hopes have been more than once related; and at the restoration of *Meer Jaffier*, Mr. *Vanfittart*, and Mr. *Hastings* were the only members of council who stood forth in protecting the natives, by proposing to establish a bare equality in the inland trade; and the majority prevailed in maintaining that the *Mogul's Phirmaund* established the right to inland as well as to foreign trade, *custom free* †, contrary to the wise and politic restrictions of *Nabob Jaffier*, in 1717, when the original patents, addressed to him by the *Mogul*, as *Nabob* of the provinces, were defined, and carried into effect.

The force in 1756 was, according to the highest calculation, in *Bengal*, 250 soldiers. When *Clive* left *Bengal*, Mr. *Scrafton* states

* *Vanfittart's* Letter, page 24.

† Vide *Orme*, Vol. II. page 25.

the force in *Bengal* to have been 1200 *Europeans* and 7500 *sepoys*; together, 8700*. Mr. *Vanfittart* reckons the whole, after the return of Colonel *Ford*'s detachment from the *Decan*, to be in the whole 8000†. In 1761 and 1762, Mr. *Vanfittart*, on the necessity of keeping a larger force at *Patna*, and to assist the presidency of *Madras* with a body of *sepoys* for the expedition to *Manilla*, the army was a little increased. In 1763 when the war with *Meer Cossim* broke out, the army in *Bengal* consisted of 1320 *Europeans*, and 8900 *sepoys*; together 10,220‡. In 1764, the year of the battle of *Buxar*, when *Sujah Dowlah* had invaded the province with all his force, in the name and with the presence of the *Mogul*, the *English* forces had been considerably augmented; an army of 15,000 men composed the whole force of *Bengal*, for the protection of both sides the *Ganges*, garrisons to the forts of *Mongbeer* and *Patna*, for securing the *passes*, and guarding

* *Scrafton's Pamphlet*, page 47.

† *Vanfittart's Letter to the Proprietors*, p. 95.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 96.

the frontiers of *Burdwan* and *Midnapore*, to which services *Meer Jaffier* was unable to contribute. The army of Colonel *Munro*, at the battle which again established the decided superiority of the *English* in the provinces, consisted of 1,062 *European* infantry, cavalry, and artillery, 1,002 black cavalry, and 5,806 *sepoys*, together 7,870, including officers.

The charges of the establishment of the 8,000 men which Lord *Clive* left in 1760 was 830,000 rupees a month, or £.103,750, or £.1,245,000 per annum.

The charges of the army in 1764, consisting of 15,000 men, opposed to the expected receipts, were,

	Lacks.	Rupees.
Per month, - - - - -	2	50000
Monthly sum which <i>Meer Jaffier</i> agreed to pay while the war lasted - - -	5	00000
£.45,000 per month of the Company's capital - -	3	60000
And before we come to the capital, we must of course		

Lacks. Rupees.

reckon the revenue which
the Company possessed in
Bengal - - - - - 4 50000
or £.195,000.

Total monthly expence, 15 60000

The annual charges of the
army in 1764 - - - £.2,340,000

Mr. *Vanfittart* states that, in 1767, the military establishment consisted of above 20,000 men, and would come to a monthly expence of 20,80000 rupees, or £.260,000 per month, or £.3,120,000 per annum, which he supposes to be nearly equal to the whole produce of the revenue, without leaving any thing to make good what we have engaged to pay to the *Mogul* and to the *Nabob* *.

It cannot be doubted that Lord *Clive* weighed the whole of the circumstances on his arrival in 1765 ; from whatever

* *Vanfittart's* Letter the Proprietors, 1767, p. 102.

causes his former arrangement had failed, he landed at *Calcutta* with an impression of the necessity of taking the whole revenues into the Company's hands; for previous to his departure after the revolution, he had obliged the *Nabob* to mortgage the revenues of the three districts as security for payment of the restitution and public money*. His arrangement of 1757 had strengthened the fortifications and established an *English* force adequate to the subsidy; the whole force which he considered necessary in 1765 as a permanent establishment was, 3,000 *European* infantry, 500 cavalry, and four regiments of artillery, exclusive of the native force *Meer Jaffier* had stipulated to maintain when he was restored, which was 12,000 cavalry and 12,000 infantry: but neither *Meer Cossim* nor *Meer Jaffier* could possibly have maintained that force, when the interference of the Company's servants, by their privileges, not only engrossed the trade, but the revenues.

During the year 1764, Mr. *Vanfittart*

* *Vanfittart's* Letter, p. 61.

estimated, from the Commissary General's accounts of camp expences, their monthly amount to be between four and five lacks of rupees; but on account of the Company's charges in providing military supplies in *Europe*, and by the military store-keeper in *Bengal*, he found it necessary to state the rough estimate of the whole to *Meer Jaffer* as amounting nearly to 7 lacks, and to urge the justice of his bearing a large proportion for the general defence of the provinces; and it was insisted that he should pay the Company five lacks per month as long as the prosecution of the war with *Sujah Dowlah* required the augmentation of the military establishments*. This sum being added to the revenue of the districts obtained from *Meer Cossim*, enabled Mr. *Vanfittart* to give aid to the commercial concerns of the Company, but with the farther addition of a loan at eight *per cent.*, to remit ten lacks to *China*, in November, which the exigency of the army prevented being sent in the early part of the season: such was the situation

* *Vanfittart's Letter to the Proprietors*, 1767, p. 106.

of the Company when Lord *Clive* landed in *Bengal* in 1765.

Mr. *Bruce* has stated the amount of the army in *India* in 1782, and has remarked generally on the improvements introduced by Lord *Clive* when he modelled the sepoy corps, and blended it with the *European* army regularly officered by *Cadets* from *Europe* *.

The *Bengal* establishment during that war consisted of a corps of engineers, three regiments of artillery, including officers — — — 3,531

Thirty-six regiments of native infantry, and one light infantry, consisting of 481 *European* officers and 38,850 natives — — 39,331

Four regiments of cavalry, 72 *European*, and 2,136 natives — 2,208

45,070

* Plans for *India*, p. 505.

Some battalions of irregulars and militia, and the Governor's body guard, raised the total amount on the *Bengal* war establishment in 1782 to 938 officers, 4,446 non-commissioned officers and privates, *Europeans*; with 49,390 natives; in all, 54,774 men.

The *Madras* establishment consisted of one battalion of *European* artillery with officers, exclusive of *Lascars* — 866

European engineer officers — 14

Two regiments of *European* infantry, with officers — — 1201

One troop of cavalry, with three officers — — — 61

Twenty-nine battalions of native infantry, 11 officers, 87 non-commissioned officers, *Europeans*, with 908 natives each; one battalion of light infantry, native, with *European* officers — Total *Europeans* 540
Natives 27140

The irregular troops, militia, *Sibbendy* corps, increased the *Madras* establishment to 596 officers, 3,494 non-commissioned and private *Europeans*, and 37,085 natives, which, with four regiments of the *Nabob's* cavalry, taken into the Company's pay, and one battalion of native infantry, is the whole force stated by Mr. *Bruce* as constituting the *Madras* establishment in 1782.

The *Bombay* establishment in 1782 amounted to 243 officers, 2,040 non-commissioned and private *Europeans*, and 14,396 natives.

“ The whole of the Company's military establishment then, at the conclusion of this war, was 112,628 men ; to which, if His Majesty's troops then serving in *India* (ten regiments of *British* and two *Hanoverian*) shall be added, the whole of the *British* force serving in *India* may be calculated at 124,000 men,” (of which above 23,000 were *Europeans*) on their full establishment. The expences of supporting such a force were calculated at £.2,732,196 ; but if an allowance shall be made for batta,

or double pay given to the troops in the field, with charges for the King's troops, the military expences in 1782-3, from the accounts laid before Parliament, will appear to have amounted to £.4,000,000 per annum*. Having adopted the official statement of Mr. *Bruce*, of the establishment, calculation, and actual amount of charges of the army in 1782-3, I am able also to state the effective strength in the last year of the war, having before me a return of December, 1782, which is as follows :

			Europ. Artil.	Europ. Infant.	Sepoys.
Company's Troops	{ <i>Bengal</i>	— —	761	1,674	47,005
	{ <i>Fort St. George</i>	— —	548	1,079	42,134
	{ <i>Bombay</i>	— —	386	862	13,094
			<hr/> 1,695	<hr/> 3,615	<hr/> 102,233

N. B. The non-commissioned officers are included in the *European*, and the native officers in the sepoy's strength : cavalry is not included, nor *European* or native invalids, pensioners, or lascars. Casualties must have diminished the number at the

* Plans for *India*, p. 509.

period of the following abstract return of His Majesty's troops in *India* under the command of Major General *Stuart*, on the 1st of August, 1783.

3 Colonels, 6 Lieutenant-Colonels, 11 Majors, 59 Captains, 146 Lieutenants, 53 Ensigns, 2 Chaplains, 12 Adjutants, 14 Quarter Masters, 47 Surgeons, 11 Mates, 5,555 rank and file. The King's troops at that time were much separated, some in the *Carnatic* army, others at *Fort St. George*, at *St. Thomé* and *Poonomallee*, at the *Mount*, in the *Northern Circars*, on the *Malabar* coast, in *Bengal*, some taken in Colonel *Bailey's* action, prisoners at *Bidenore*, others with the army south of the *Coleroon*.

Mr. *Pitt's India* bill having been adopted by Parliament, the Board of Control, and Directors revised the establishments, and adopted the following plan of Major General Sir *Archibald Campbel*, which was transmitted to *Bengal* with the general plan of the new Government *.

* Letter of the Directors to the *Bengal* Government, September 21, 1785.

	European Cavalry.	Native Cavalry.	Cavalry.	European Artillery.	European Infantry.	Sepoys.		Lascars.	Engineers.
	Reg.	Reg.	Tps.	Com.	Batt.	Batt.	Com.	Com.	No.
BENGAL.									
<i>Fort William</i>	—	—	—	5	1	8	—	10	12
<i>Barbampoor</i>	—	—	—	—	1	6	—	4	2
<i>Dignaapoor</i>	—	—	—	1	—	6	—	4	2
<i>Chunar Ghor</i>	—	—	—	—	—	4	—	2	2
<i>Western Frontier</i> ..	—	—	2	4	2	12	—	10	4
MADRAS.									
<i>Northern Division</i> ..	—	—	—	1	—	12	—	7	3
<i>Southern Division</i> ..	—	2	—	1	1	9	—	8	5
<i>Eastern Division</i> ...	1	1	—	4	1	4	—	8	9
<i>Western Division</i> ..	—	3	—	2	2	11	—	7	5
BOMBAY.									
<i>Bombay Garrison</i> ..	—	—	—	4	1	3	5	4	8
<i>Salsette Cantonment</i> ..	—	—	—	1	1	6	—	4	2
<i>Sarat Garrison</i>	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	$\frac{1}{2}$	1
<i>Tillicherry</i>	—	—	—	—	—	1	3	$\frac{1}{2}$	1
	1	6	2	23	10	83	8	69	56

The foregoing Distribution supported the Indian Army in 1785 to consist of 70,919 Men.

<i>Bengal</i>	29,038 Men	at £. 698,013	1 6
<i>Madras</i>	31,720	616,852	14 4
<i>Bombay</i>	10,161	165,624	5 2

Including Officers 70,919 Men £. 1,480,490 10*

From Mr. Bruce I state the general Return of the Indian Army in 1788-9.

BENGAL.	Officers.	Staff.	Non Com. & Priv.		Natives.
Artillery, 3 Battalions	81	12		1110.	
European Infantry, 6 Batts.	162	30		3696	
Engineers	22				
Native Cavalry, 2 Regts.	8	2		2	468
Native Infantry, 36 Batts.	336	72		288	23,040
	609	116		5096	23,508

* The pay calculated conformably to the lists of pay laid before Parliament in Feb. 1785, by the Directors.

MADRAS.

Artillery, 2 Battalions - -
 European Infantry, 2 Batts.
 Engineers - - - -
 Native Cavalry, 5 Regts.
 Native Infantry, 30 Regts.

BOMBAY.

Artillery, 2 Batts. - - -
 Engineers - - - -
 European Infantry, 2 Batts.
 Native Infant. 12 Batts.

	Officers.	Staff.	Europeans		Natives.
			Non.	Com. & Priv.	
	54	8	740		
	108	20	2464		
	22				
	35	15	30		2460
	280	60	240		19,200
	499	103	3474		21,660
<hr/>					
	27	4	370		
	12				
	54	10	1232		
	112	24	96		7680
	205	38	1698		7680
					Total
Total of Company's Troops	1313	257	10,268		52,848
Total of King's Troops	387	56	7602		64,686
					8045
Total Europeans	1700	313	17,870		52,848
					72,731

19,882

On the approach of the late war with *Tippoo Sultaun*, it became necessary to augment the King's and Company's troops : one troop was added to the King's regiment of cavalry, and two companies to each regiment of infantry ; a detachment of 245 effective, from the royal artillery, was sent out under a field officer : by these augmentations, the number of the King's troops serving in *India*, was about 10721. For the same reason, the Company augmented the sepoy corps, from 8 to 10 companies in each regiment, which made an addition of about 12870 effectives : consequently, the establishment of *European* was then 22,549 *Europeans*, and 65,718 natives, exclusive of confederates in the war, the *Mahrattas* and the *Nizam*.

The successes against *Tippoo*, which terminated in a peace, enabled Lord *Cornwallis* to reduce the army ; but in what degree it was then reduced, and to what extent it has been again augmented, will be explained by Mr. *Dundas* when he makes his next report to Parliament. So far from its being a matter of apology, it should be

considered a subject for praise, that Mr. *Dundas* hesitates at the final decision “ on the circumstances of embarrassment, which have experimentally proved the military arrangements in *India* to be deficient, and to require amendment*.”

The sources of defect lately held forth are neither accurate nor conciliating ; and although, neither individually nor collectively, the *Indian* army ought to presume to dictate to Parliament, nor to define the rights of the Legislature and of the Executive Government of *Great Britain*, yet the feelings of *Englishmen* may be stimulated to indiscretion, by the apprehension of intended injustice. The subject having been publicly discussed, I cannot but observe, that the following sentences have been unfortunately selected to give a distinct view of the relative situation of the King's and Company's troops in *India* †. “ No one will deny that jealousies of a dangerous kind have subsisted between the King's

* *Plans for India*, p. 512

† *Ibid*, p. 514.

and Company's troops : the King's officers have complained, that the Company's regiments were better paid than they were, and that all the profitable stations had been assigned them."

A reference made to papers, laid before Parliament in 1791, upon the motion of Mr. *Hippesley*, by ascertaining that the King's troops had been paid in good coin, 2 months in advance, when the Company's troops have been from 10 to 12 months in arrears, and then paid in a depreciated currency, invalidates the above assertion, and is sufficient to ensure the attention of Government and of Parliament to remove so injurious a distinction ; and the proportion of 12 stations, now commanded by 12 field officers of six King's regiments, must occur, if the distinction of the King's and Company's army is not abolished. Other observations on the defect of discipline, occasioned by " officers commanding *European* regiments, being removed to command sepoy battalions * " ; and the regula-

* Plans for *India*, p. 504.

tions, in the same page, stated to exist, certainly cannot be supported; and notwithstanding it is in another place asserted*, that a sepoy regiment now attracts the wishes of a Company's officer, who originally looked anxiously to the command of an *European* battalion: it cannot be denied by the Board of Control, "that the command of an *European* battalion is now, as it always has been, the object of ambition; because, to be entitled to command an *European* battalion, an officer must have the rank of Colonel, while that of a Captain is sufficient to command a native corps. Every officer commanding an *European* corps, has a separate command, and has the fairest prospect of acquiring a fortune; while the officer commanding a sepoy regiment, has but a precarious chance of command, and a very distant prospect of fortune." It cannot, however, be questioned, that Lord Cornwallis is a competent judge of the comparative state of the troops. The single corps of the Company's *Europeans* employ-

* Plans for India, p. 513.

ed in the last war, commanded by Major *Gowdie*, was distinguished by Lord *Cornwallis* for its good conduct. His Lordship states the artillery to be equal to any in *Europe**, which, having been greatly augmented, accounts for the less fightly state of the battalions of the Company's *European* infantry, "scarcely fitted for any but garrison duty †"; and Lord *Cornwallis*'s observation, "that the *European* regiments were inferior in discipline to the sepoy corps ‡," involves both the King's and Company's regiments. The reason, adduced by an anonymous writer in the *Morning Chronicle*, is a probable, and likely to continue, a permanent reason. The natives are more obedient, their limbs more supple and pliant, and they do not enervate themselves with spirituous liquors.

It would be unjust to impute, to the Company's officers, claims of prescriptive

* *Plans for India*, p. 513.

† *Ibid.* p. 512.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 513.

rights ; they are not a northern horde united by custom, which, by long duration, has acquired the force of law. They were organized but the other day by *Clive* ; they have been brought to their present perfection by successive improvements, which the Company ordered to be introduced frequently by general officers, bearing his Majesty's commission : if the Company had really been independant of the state, and if the King had not sent detachments from the army of *Europe*, the regular army of *France* would have driven every *Englishman* from *India* : therefore, no *English* officer in the Company's service, when we hear of prescript right, can mean any other right than the prescript rule of service, which ought to protect him from evasions and supercessions, injurious to his feelings as an officer, and to his fortune, and also injurious to the service. Reforms ought to be made only when necessary ; and then the prejudices of the reformed ought to be attended to, as far as the well-being of the state can admit. Lord *Cornwallis* is the soldier's friend ; and it requires the authority of such a name to organize

the *Indian* army. I shall describe shortly the state of the King's and Company's service at the period when the peace of 1783 with *France* was proclaimed at *Cuddalore*.

Lord *Macartney* considered the King's troops in *India* as auxiliaries, and himself as Governor, the responsible delegate of the Company's authority *, for the conduct of the war in the *Carnatic*; and so far were the King's officers from being peculiarly favoured beyond the positive orders from *Europe*, that he annulled the staff appointments Sir *Eyre Coote* had given to the King's troops. The letter from Lord *Macartney* and the Select Committee, dated 3 June, 1783, to Major-General *Stuart*, was not only the cause of mortification to the *English* General, but being intercepted by the *French*, it was translated, and sent to *Europe* as a curiosity: *Monf. de Moissac*, Major *d'Escadre* to *Monf. de Suffrein*, sent it to a friend, with this remark " Je vous envoie la traduction d'une lettre du Comitté de *Madras* au Major Général *Stuart*; vous

* View of the *English* interests in *India*, page 32.

m'avez paru la desirer ;" " vous y verrez avec autant d'étonnement que nous, sans doute, quel est le style que les agens de l'honorable Compagnie employent vis-à-vis les Généraux." In short the civil and military departments were then at daggers drawing.

To give an idea of the *Sepoys*, I shall instance the *Sortie* from *Cuddalore*, which closed the hostilities with the *French* in 1783.

On the 25th of June, before day light, part of the *French* garrison at *Cuddalore*, consisting of 900 *Europeans* and 600 *Sepoys*, attacked the *English* advanced corps. The field officer,* who had the charge of the parallel about 700 yards from the fort of *Cuddalore*, " stationed the 24th *Bengal* regiment of *Sepoys* to line the parapet ; at half past two in the morning he ordered the men to fall in on the *banquette* ; and about ten minutes after the men stood to their arms, the centinels of the 24th regiment

* The honourable Lieutenant Colonel Cathcart.

fired and ran in ; instantly a shower of musquetry followed them ; the firing spread as far as the redan and the battalion on its left. The working parties, artificers, pioneers, &c. on the commencement of the fire, pushing to the rear, broke through the reserve : the morning was very dark ; the noise and halloing of the workmen and the whizzing of the shot made the second line mistake them for the enemy ; they were seized with a momentary panic ; while the *Sepoys* in the *banquette* defended themselves nobly ; perceiving the confusion which was in the rear, and being senior officer to Major *Cotgrave*, I went to assist in bringing back these troops ; the *European* detachment, of 70 men, dispersed ; most of them ran to the camp. 150 *European* grenadiers ran near 100 yards before they attended to their officers' orders to halt ; they soon formed, and advanced to their old ground, where they were ordered to halt with charged bayonet, and not to fire because the *Sepoys* were in front : they were soon perfectly steady ; the battalion of *Sepoys*, which formed the remainder of the

reserve, returned, and formed on the left of the grenadiers.

“ The firing about this time became more faint, but much nearer : the *French* defeated the *Bengal Sepoys*, notwithstanding they had gallantly resisted them with their bayonets. Major *Cotgrave* and your humble servant * had walked towards the parallel to ascertain its situation, and direct the *Sepoys*, if retiring from its defence, to go off to the left, that the second line might open its fire ; but they were all gone, and we perceived by the flashes that we were opposed to *Frenchmen* who fired at us. I directed Major *Cotgrave* to advance with the *Sepoy* battalion of the reserve and succour the *Redan*. Just as the Major was giving these orders, he was killed ; but the officer who commanded the *Sepoy* corps, moved on, and fired one volley after gaining the parapet ; a *French* captain of the regiment *de l'Isle de France*, by a mistake, got among this *Sepoy* battalion whilst it was advancing, ran its commanding officer thro’

* Colonel *Cathcart*.

the shoulder, and was himself bayoneted in eight places : he had however the good fortune to recover.

“ It was so dark that it was hardly possible to distinguish friend from foe. I did not advance with the grenadiers ; but as soon as the *Sepoys* moved on from the left, I ordered them to wheel to the right, because I every moment expected to see a body of the enemy advancing to turn our flank : they had not any intention of making the attack I looked for ; but part of the troops which were on the *French* left, and consequently attacked our right, lost their way, and came up the rice field close to the new-formed front of the grenadiers ; stumbling at once upon a body of men drawn up with charged bayonets, they called for quarter ; and 60 of them were disarmed. About the time these people came up the rice field, the rest of the enemy retired in confusion, firing upon each other : those who had attacked the battalion which was on the parallel to the left of the *Redan*, behaved ill ; they were *Sepoys* lately raised ;

in going off, they threw down most of their arms.

“ Just as the firing ceased, Colonel Gordon, who had been at the head of the troops to the left, came to see what situation we were in, and informed us that the Chevalier *de Damas*, Colonel du Regiment *d'Acquitaine*, who commanded the rally, was taken; he had heard his left advancing past our line, and made his orderly drum beat a charge, in hopes to persuade the rest of his detachment to return; he came close to the parallel; nobody followed him, and an officer of *Sepoys* seized him and his drummer.

“ The enemy are supposed to have lost between 150 and 200 men, killed and wounded, several wounded officers were taken, and about 80 *Europeans* made prisoners.

“ The 24th *Bengal* battalion lost two stand of colours, most of their *European* officers killed or wounded, and 45 *Sepoys*. Major *Cotgrave* was killed, and three or four *European* soldiers were wounded. The

merit of this repulse ought certainly to be attributed to the 24th *Bengal* sepoy, and the fire of the guns and musquetry from the *Redan*. The reserve, in general, behaved well after they recovered their defeat by the *Cooleys*, except the picquet from the *European* brigade, which deserved death for their bad behaviour." The above is an extract which Colonel *Cathcart* allowed me to take from his journal when I desired his opinion of the Company's sepoy. I have detailed the conduct of sepoy in a night attack, when they are most subject to panic; and he told me that, at the battle of *Cuddalore*, when he was ordered to retreat with the *European* granadiers and 73d regiment, much exhausted and broken, the troops *de la Mark* were deterred from charging, by the regularity of Colonel *Blane's* regiment of sepoy, who marched off in good line, under a fire of musquetry and of grape.

I was also informed by that respectable young man, in 1784, that while he served as a King's officer, "there were several causes of jealousy between the component

parts of our *Indian* armies, especially in the *Carnatic* ; the allowances which the troops of the different presidencies received on the same service were not alike ; the *Bengal* troops received an increase of pay because they were south of the river *Kistna* ; the King's troops claimed the same emolument in consequence of a stipulation which had been made in their favour at home.

“ The *Carnatic* battalions did as much duty as either, upon half the pay which the *Bengalese* received. The officers of His Majesty's forces command all those of the same rank in the Company's service : the preference is due to the King's commission ; but this precedence is attended with inconvenience on duty.

“ A Captain in the Company's service is, in general, many years acquiring his rank ; he then gets a battalion of sepoys, which is a considerable and profitable trust.

“ In most of the King's regiments serving in *India* the Captains had been a very

short time in the army, and had obtained rank by raising independant companies; they frequently were on duty with veteran Captains of *Carnatic* sepoy, who had served twenty years, have had commands, and experience which rendered them equal to the charge of a brigade; the sepoy officer mounts his picquet with a battalion, and, to give confidence to the sepoy, a Captain of His Majesty's service is added to the detail, and though he brings only fifty *Europeans*, his rank gives him the command of the post: a very mortifying circumstance to the Captain commandant of a battalion; and besides an important trust is confided to a comparatively inexperienced officer.

“ The gift of promotion is vested in the civil power at *Madras* as in *Bengal*, the bad effects of which is felt, although, for several causes, the discipline of the coast troops is not equally relaxed.

“ The *Carnatic* has always been a scene of war; the coast officers of sepoy have been on constant service, and opposed to

active enemies; their military appearance under arms, their precision in manœuvre and attention to duty of many of their battalions, do these troops great honour. The *Carnatic* sepoy is not men of high cast; their religion does not interfere with any part of their discipline; they are hardy little men, and undergo hardships with cheerfulness; their courage is more an effect of discipline, and a confidence in their *European* officers, than the fire of innate prowess.

“ The *Bengal* sepoy has many religious prejudices which interfere with discipline; for instance, ablutions, and a custom of stripping off their accoutrements and clothes before meals. They are men of high cast, and nice sense of honour; soldiers by birth, and of a most athletic form.

“ Several of the battalions with which I have been on duty were in so high order, that they did honour to the officers who had trained them; by long continuance on service they had conquered many of the

superstitious customs of the sepoy; although beneath the dignity of a *Rajapout* to dig, or carry burthens, I have seen whole battalions of them at work in a ditch, and carrying *Palmyra* trees for platforms; they saved their feelings by refusing payment, and asserted that voluntary fatigue did not degrade them: I hardly ever saw a frown upon one of these good-natured fellows' countenances, though they were in arrears, had been two years from home, and distant 12 or 1800 miles from their families, in a climate which did not agree with them: this shews that, with good usage, the *Bengal* sepoy is formidable troops: their innate courage and athletic form would incline me to prefer them to the sepoy of the *Carnatic* on equal discipline.

“ It cannot be denied that luxury, and the profits of the military line, have introduced mercantile projects among the Company's officers, and promotion has depended upon the civil government and on friends. If a young man of the best disposition, upon his arrival in *Bengal*, is sent

to an out-station, his brother officers soon initiate him in their secrets ; if he thinks his commanding officer over strict, and he has interest, his friends at the Presidency procure his exchange to another cantonment, or leave of absence ; he struts up, and presents this defiance to his commandant, who must submit ; and by a few such adventures an officer is sickened from carrying on discipline.

“ After a few years at *Calcutta*, spent in the height of dissipation, and having seen little of his regiment, the young officer perhaps has interest to be sent on a small detached command ; judge how fit he is to the command of native troops, and to protect the inhabitants of a district from oppression ; his *Banyan* leagues himself with the sepoy ; they plunder the country, squeeze the people, who dare not complain ; this upper servant frequently gives the young commandant part of the spoils, assures him the district is happy under his protection, and the presents are only tokens of their gratitude, or *Bazar tythes*, the regular dues of his station ; ten to one if

he knew the full extent of the misery he occasioned, the officer would rather not have the money; but he must have *Ruppes*, and therefore makes few inquiries; he soon becomes habituated to the receipt of these sums; and if they are not frequent, the *Banyan* is dismissed and replaced by another. By the time he gets a battalion he has saved money; if his ideas are moderate, he prepares to return with a small competency to *Europe*; if he aspires to rank, should he live to attain it, he has greater scope for the same practices.

“ This is the school of the army which defends the most valuable provinces. It may be asked, if this is a just report of the *Bengal* army, how all these forts have been stormed and native armies defeated by *Bengal* officers opposed to them with very inferior force? the luxury of the enemy being equal to theirs, they were, in this respect, on a par. The *Bengal* troops were sufficiently disciplined to change their position in action, while their antagonists were, from their irregularity, incapable of evolutions, and had very bad artillery opposed to

the *English* field pieces, which were numerous and well served. *Bengal* has produced some capital officers, whose merit is the greater on account of the bad school in which they were formed." Such having been the impartial state of the army when Lord *Cornwallis* entered on his government, it is obvious great alterations appeared to be necessary. If the *European* troops have been augmented, the army has become more effective; but it still remains to introduce the necessary measure which I was encouraged by the same friend to believe practicable.

" Arrangements might be made which would be conducive of harmony in our *Indian* armies if all the troops served one master; but it never can be the case so long as separate interests are supposed to exist: the King's officers, with superior rank, expect all the commands; the Company's officers consider them as intruders, depriving them of rewards due to long services or loss of health. As this is my opinion, I have never turned my thoughts on *Indian* service, but on the idea of the

military government being in the hands of His Majesty exclusively, or solely in the Company ; in either of which cases, an *English* officer or soldier might easily be established on a more respectable footing than the *British* Constitution in *Europe* can admit of.

“ *Hindostan* is accustomed to a military government ; an army may be kept in discipline and protect the rights of the natives without exciting their jealousy ; a judicious use of our resources ought to render the *British* arms paramount in *India* ; but luxury and abuses have pervaded both the military and civil service : yet it does not follow that great retrenchments of pay and allowances would be solid economy. I should presume, if the troops were equally and well paid, but kept in discipline, our affairs will be more likely to prosper than if reductions of pay were adopted suited to the idea of expence in *Europe*.

“ It cannot be expected that officers of credit will go 4,000 leagues from their native country, to fight against a hot climate,

and pass their lives absent from friends who are most dear to them, unless these disadvantages are in some measure counter-balanced by emoluments which enable them to support their rank genteely."

There appears only one subject of well-grounded alarm to the *Indian* army at this time, and it is a subject of difficulty and delicacy to decide. It is supposed, that all the officers of *Indian* regiments of *Europeans* are intended to be made King's officers, and their rank in the field with the King's *European* regiments, sent out on extraordinary emergency, will be according to the general army list; and it is imagined that the *European* officers attached to the sepoy service will be totally excluded from the establishment of *European* regulars. This, in a great degree, would imitate the *French* system. The *French* army at *Cuddalore*, in June, 1783, consisted of the regiments *de la Marck*, *les Allemands*, *Royal Roussillon*, *d'Austrasie*, *d'Acquitaine*; detachments from the regiments *de l'Isle de France*, *de Forêt*, *de la Legion de Lauzun*, *ou Volontaires Etrangers*, & *de Bour-*

bon, and three companies of *European* artillery. The whole of their *sepoys* 1200, 800 *caffres*, strong and active assistants to their artillery. Their auxiliaries 4 *Rassalabs* of *Tippoo Saheb's* infantry, about 1200 men, 4000 *Mysorean* cavalry, commanded by *Seyd Saheb*. The whole army and fleet was under the command of the *Marquis de Bussy*, and he reinforced the garrison on the 24th of June with 1200 *Europeans*; and, without endangering the safety of the ships, he might have attempted any particular attack with 5000 *Europeans*; but regiments unseasoned to the climate have many great disadvantages. The *French* *sepoys* were at all times as a degraded corps, and the *European* officers serving in it were treated by the King's officers *de haut en bas*, insomuch that only adventurers were inclined to serve in their native regiments. The superiority, and indeed the excellence, of the *British* *sepoys* has arisen from the *European* and *sepoys* regiments being officered from the same list, which proved at the same time a corrective to the slow and regular rise without purchase, which ought to be firmly adhered to; conse-

quently I have been long of opinion, that the separation of the *European* officers of sepoy's from those of the *European* regiments in *India*, would not only occasion universal dissatisfaction, but would materially injure both the sepoy and *European* corps: as it is, the promotion of the Company's army is sufficiently slow, there being Ensigns 10, Lieutenants 20, Majors and Lieutenant-Colonels 25 to 27, and Colonels 30 years standing; if they rose in proportion to the army of *Great Britain* there could be no just complaint; and in times of peace, the officers on the *Indian* establishment ought to be indulged with leave of absence for health, or for their private affairs, without being deprived of their promotion or pay; but the period of absence should be made compatible with the discipline of troops, and with justice to the mass of officers, who must have their turn of absence, and not be obliged to do the duty of those who have interest to protract their leave of absence: and it will be just and prudent to anticipate the request of the *Indian* army. As to a corps of engineer Cadets, Mr. Pitt

may find a paper addressed to him in April or May, 1788, by a person who did not support his measures, explanatory of this opinion; and the measure still being under the consideration of Government, farther observation to elucidate what I have already said on this subject * in the foregoing pages would be superfluous. If we consider the probable consequences of the general system of *India* which has been established since 1784, we must augur well for *British India*; the chain of subordination is completed, and the different prejudices can no longer counteract each other. If proper persons are not selected for important offices, the fault is not imputable to the act of Parliament; and if a doubt can exist whether military honour will be less secure under the direct order of the Crown than they have been, let them read Sir *Eyre Coote's* pathetic minute on the records of the Supreme Council on his last departure for the *Carnatic*.

The same apology which was good pre-

* Introduction, p. xxxviii.

vious to 1784, cannot be admitted by the Commissioners and Directors under the present act: the power of *British India* may have its full effect, and the errors and counteraction of former times may be avoided. How could a Governor, of abilities and honour equal to Lord *Macartney*, intuitively manage the *Carnatic* and estimate the respective services? In reading the letter from the President and Select Committee of *Madras* to the Commander in Chief, dated the 3d of June, 1783, we must see the fallacy of commanding Generals by precedent, without weighing the relative circumstances of the periods. The reference to the force with which General *Lawrence* drove the *French* from *India*, could not be decisive of the force necessary to attack *Cuddalore* in 1783; nor the march of Sir *Eyre Coote*, in 1782, to victual *Vellore*, could not be a rule of reprobating the slow progress of General *Stuart's* army, stated to be only three miles a day; when, in the former case, the carriage bullocks were sufficient for that service, though it is known that the Government could only provide one third of the number which

that general required, as necessary for the general service of the campaign; and in the latter case, the want of carriage bullocks making it necessary to move several marches in advance, and send back the cattle with an escort to bring up the residue of grain which had been left *en-depot*, would make the average work of the bullocks by no means to correspond with the average advance of the army. The anxiety of extinguishing the *French* power at *Cuddalore* before *Tippoo* returned from *Bede-nore*, was naturally an object to stimulate exertion; but the *Madras* Government must have lamented not having strengthened the northern army, instead of questioning the propriety of that requisition, when the *English* army having forced the lines, desisted from battering the fort of *Cuddalore*, because, had the *curtain* been laid open, the force in the fort was too great for the *English* army to storm it after *Suffrein* had returned; but had the detachment from the southern army arrived, an assault might have been successful: fortunately the dilemma vanished on the arrival of the Deputies with the preliminaries of peace.

The Government ordered the army to return to *Madras*, which General *Bruce* was unable to obey for want of carriage bullocks; as an expedient, General *Bruce* was ordered to leave the artillery and stores upon receipt under commissaries in *Cuddalore*, where, it was not doubted, the politeness of *Monf. de Buffy* would give them room until *Cuddalore* was given up to us, or it was convenient to send for them: this order was remonstrated against, and thought too unmilitary and humiliating to be complied with; in the mean time the camp followers perished, after the peace, from want of provisions, and the relief did not reach the *English* at *Cuddalore* till the 20th of *July*, 1783. The Government must have repented its hasty censure of the military, if it weighed the relative circumstances of the *French* and *English*, on the supposition that the interval from the suspension of hostilities to the 20th of *July* had been a continuation of warfare. The circumstances which influenced the temper of the civil and military councils of *British India* at that time are well stated by

Colonel *Fullarton** : that officer has given a very full detail of the operations of the southern army, which he joined with the King's troops in October, 1782, when Colonel *Lang*'s command to the south of the *Coleroon* was made respectable. He was ordered by General *Stuart* to join the army destined to attack the *French* at *Cuddalore* ; but before he could join the Commander in Chief, Colonel *Fullarton* was appointed by the *Madras* Government to succeed Colonel *Lang* ; and when hostilities with the *French* ceased, the southern army became the most respectable army in the *Carnatic*. It would have been fortunate if his command had commenced at an earlier period of the war, his narrative then would have included the progress of Colonel *Humberston* on the *Malabar* coast, and no one would have done justice to a deceased friend with more ability, for he had looked up to him as an officer, and when he considered him as a man, Colonel *Fullarton* had valued himself in the distinction of being the friend of Colonel *Humberston*.

* A View of the *English* Interests in *India*, p. 32, &c.

The countenance which Lord *Macartney* gave to Colonel *Humberston's* ideas of promoting offensive operations against *Tippoo* was very judicious ; but when that officer was ordered to join General *Mathews* at *Onore*, the whole strength of the *Carnatic* ought to have been directed against the *French* ; possibly Lord *Macartney* did not know that the *Bombay* Presidency had ordered Colonel *Humberston's* army from the *Zamorines* country, for at that period the want of unity of plan sacrificed the public service.

A letter from *Bombay* falsely represented Colonel *Humberston's* being defeated, and having lost all his baggage, which letter, printed in the *English* papers, was all we heard of that officer ; and it is remarkable how deficient the *Madras* Government was in local information and circumstances of the country. When Colonel *Fullarton* approached *Palagatcherry*, in November, 1783, a “ near inspection of its strength impressed him with serious apprehensions that much time might be wasted in its reduction * ; ”

* A View of the *English* Interests in *India*, p. 163.

and he was minute in a description of the place, "because its consequence and local situation were not accurately known to *Europeans**:" such had been the dilemma of Colonel *Humberston* the preceding year. That officer had, however, taken post at *Mangaree* in October, 1782, and leaving in that fort stores and sick, under a proper guard, he had advanced with four field pieces and two amusettes, and in force reconnoitred *Palagatcherry*. By the general orders, of which I have a copy, the journal he sent to me having never arrived, I know that he left *Mangaree* the 17th of October; and October 19, 20, and 21 were employed in marching round *Palagatcherry*; and having ascertained its strength, he received reports of *Tippoo* being expected, and being without hopes of reinforcements from Colonel *Lang*'s army, he retreated to *Mangaree*, where he remained till the 11th of November, when he fell back to *Ramgurrie*, and made his disposition to retire to *Paniani*† if his *Hircarabs*

* A View of the *English* Interests in *India*, p. 166.

† Colonel *Humberston*'s correspondance with Lieutenant *Groves* from his different stations, in the months

confirmed the rumour of *Tippoo's* approach ; and so excellent were his arrangements, that although *Tippoo* with his army appeared two hours after his *Hircarabs* brought him certain intelligence of his arrival from the *Carnatic*, he detached his irregulars by the hills, impracticable for his baggage, and made good his retreat to *Paniani*, in the face of *Tippoo's* army, without the loss of his sick, his stores, or his artillery, on the 18th and 19th of November, 1782 ; when he arrived at *Paniani*, Colonel *Macleod* had just landed ; Colonel *Humberston*, in his turn, was thereby superseded, in a moment most critical to his glory ; in the estimation of his professional friends he acquired it, by effecting a most difficult task, the retreat of infantry in the face of a superior body of cavalry : he laboured hard for fame ;

of October and November, 1782, shew the precarious situation in which his army was for want of every necessary ; and the journal of Lieutenant *Groves*, commander of the armed transport the *Pondicherry*, shew the zeal and activity of that officer in complying with his directions. It is remarkable Lieutenant *Groves* had been employed, with the same rank, at the same place, and on the same service, thirty years before, patronized by Sir *C. Saunders* and Sir *E. Hughes*.

and his zeal, as second in command, did not abate, even when he was ordered to join General *Mathews*; and he was obliged to take leave of his most favourite schemes for the benefit of his country, and was removed still farther from the command.

I insert an extract from four of Colonel *Humberston's* letters, which will shew that a military voyage of armed transports is unlike a voyage of four months in a Company's ship, and to claim for him a portion of merit in first striking out the proper mode of protecting the *Carnatic*. When Colonel *Fullarton* was stopped in his career of honour, he was master of *Palagatcherry*, and was consulting whether it would be better to move down to *Paniani* for stores, and proceed to attack *Seringapatam* by the pass of *Dalmacherry*, or to return with the stores and proceed through the *Coimbatore*; but his views were finally turned to the forts of *Settimungulum* and *Ardenille*, as the easiest way to *Seringapatam*, when the orders from the above-mentioned *Madras*

* View of the *English* Interests, p. 169.

Deputies directed all posts, &c. to be evacuated which had been taken after the 26th of July, 1783, which the *Madras* Government, by their minutes of consultation, ordered to be obeyed.

The late war with *Tippoo* began at the point at which Colonel *Fullarton* left off: Lord *Cornwallis*, by connecting his forces, and directing them by *Bangalore* to *Tippoo's* capital, in the second campaign, effected the brilliant service. The consequences of unity in the service, and defined powers vested in a Governor General, appear strongly by contrasting the periods.

Calicut, on the Malabar Coast,
September 2d, 1782.

Dear Sir,

AN opportunity of writing to *Europe* has occurred very unexpectedly; we have just heard at this place that the Indiamen sail this month for *England* from *Bombay*; such an opportunity could not have occurred

at a more unseasonable time, as the rainy season is just over, and our troops took the field this morning. The hurry and confusion attending our preparations for the field will prevent my writing to you so fully as I wish; I have kept a very regular journal of our voyage and adventures, and was making an extract from it for your entertainment, but a severe dysentery, (which had very near put an end to my adventures,) and the hurry since I recovered of getting ready to march, will prevent your receiving this precious *morceau*; I will, however, finish it when I have leisure. It contains very learned disquisitions on the sea scurvy, very excellent advice with regard to armed transports and secret expeditions, and a comparative view of the difference between fighting in the House of Commons and at sea, particularly with a 50-gun ship and a frigate against a 74: but all this I must defer till another opportunity; I shall at present content myself with giving you a very short account of our adventures since we came into the *Indian* seas.

After the sad business of *Saldanha* bay, and Mr. *Johnson's* departure, we made for the island of *Jobanna*; we were short of provisions, on an allowance of a quart of water per day, and our men ill of the scurvy: in this situation we were becalmed between *Madagascar* and the main of *Africa*, where we were pretty nearly broiled; and when we arrived at the island of *Jobanna*, our ship exhibited the most shocking spectacle of misery and distress that ever I was witness to; and some of the vessels were worse, few better, than we were. We lost very near a third of the men on board between the *Cape* and *Jobanna*: we had, as you know, seventeen officers in the cabin all the passage, and at the time I mention, no less than seven sick at one time. To be crammed for a twelvemonth into twenty-two feet square, with seventeen people, who ate, drank, slept, shifted, and washed themselves in that one apartment, was what you may call a comfortable situation; but when so many of these were sick in their births, it became really too much to bear: *Catbcart* and myself were so fortunate as to

preserve our healths during the whole passage; but after the disappointment of all our expectations, a general dejection prevailed; and the uncommon length of the passage, and confinement on board such crowded ships, impaired every constitution more or less; even those who had no absolute illness, showed, by their pale, sickly countenances, that they had suffered by the voyage. The island of *Johanna* recovered our scorbutic men surprizingly, and was of service to us all, except an unfortunate party of *Highland* officers, who all pitched their tents together in a most beautiful valley, which proved one of the most fatal spots I ever heard of. They were all seized with fevers, some before we left the island, others soon after our embarkation; eleven died out of fifteen who composed the party; and two officers of the 98th were, when they left us, dying of the consequences of that fever: almost all their servants died; and eleven women from the *Pondicherry*, who had a hut in the same valley to wash our linen, every one died. When I went on shore, they had pitched my tent in the centre of them; but I hap-

pened very luckily to have studied *Lind* very hard during the voyage, and I observed that this valley had every appearance of those situations which he cautions you to avoid; it was shut up from the sea breeze, and the beautiful woods which surrounded it on every side made it damp, and prevented the free circulation of air; I accordingly struck my tent, in spite of all the reproaches I received for deserting the *Highlanders*, and pitched pretty high on the side of a neighbouring hill, in a very dry soil, and exposed to the sea breeze; *Fullarton* pitched his near mine; *Catcart*, *Hutchinson*, and a colony, about equal in number to that in the valley, was formed on the hill; the advantage of situation, and the necessity of attending to it in hot climates, could not be more strongly marked; not one of our colony on the hill suffered the least illness, but were, on the contrary, much better in our healths after we left the island; *Fullarton* in particular, who landed very ill, recovered during our stay there. When we left *Johanna* we expected to be at *Bombay* in a fortnight, instead of which, after being two months at sea,

we found ourselves at *Morebat*, on the coast of *Arabia*, and as the monsoon was directly against us, our expectations of reaching *Bombay* was more distant than ever. In this miserable and barren spot, the General and Captain *Alms*, of the *Monmouth*, agreed in opinion, that it would be proper for the men of war to lose no time in joining Sir *Edward Hughes*, as *Suffrein's* squadron would give the *French* too great a superiority; they accordingly left us, taking great part of the 98th regiment with them, and left me in command of the rest of the troops. *Fullarton* and others, who were going on, consoled with me on being left, and thought it a disagreeable circumstance; I was myself of a very different opinion; I thought that from the various unforeseen occurrences of war, it was a great chance that we might not meet with General *Meadows* again; in which case I might land in *India* with a respectable body of troops, and might probably get some of the Company's added to them, and obtain an independent command: all this has happened.

When the men of war who left us came to *Bombay*, Sir *E. Hughes* with the fleet was on the other coast; they had sailed and left orders at *Bombay* for the transports to follow them immediately. On proceeding down this coast, Captain *Smith*, of the *San Carlos*, and myself received intelligence of the *French* fleet's being daily expected at *Ceylon*; this obliged the ships to return to *Bombay*, and, on the way up, I landed the troops here in February last. This place was just taken by Major *Abington*; but the enemy remained in the country in force, and *Hyder* sent a reinforcement under the command of *Mugdum Ali Khan*, his brother-in-law. Major *Abington* had been a very fortunate man; he found it much more for his interest to remain in the command of the town of *Callicut* than to take the field under my command: when I found the enemy were within fifteen miles of this place, I insisted on his joining his troops to mine, and proceeding against the enemy; he begged leave to resign, to which I very readily consented, and he went to *Bombay*. His resignation, and his objections to move, would have

led me into a scrape had I been unsuccessful ; I should, in that case, have been accused by every one of rashness and obstinacy, in neglecting the advice of an officer who knew the country, and who, sooner than co-operate in such measures, retired from his command. I was, however, more lucky ; on the 7th of last April I came up with *Mugdum Ali Khan*, commonly called *Mugdum Saheb*, and with a small part of my troops gave him a total defeat ; he himself, several principal officers, and between three and four hundred men, fell in the action ; his force consisted of about 3,000 foot, near 1,000 horse, and four pieces of artillery : I am ashamed to name my number, they were so few, that you will think me rash to have ventured an action. In consequence of this action, the enemy evacuated all this country, which belonged formerly to a *Gentoo Rajah*, called the *Zamorine*, whom I restored to his possessions. The enemy retired to a fort called *Palacatcherry*, which commands the only pass that is in the mountains which separate this country from *Hyder Ally's*. I attempted to march up the country to

reduce this fort, but the rainy season coming on much sooner than usual, compelled me to return, and gave me a dysentery by which my constitution has received the severest shock it ever sustained.

The rainy season being over, I opened the campaign this day. I mean first to reduce *Paliacatcherry*; and if I succeed in that, I have many eligible plans afterwards, the preference of which must be determined by circumstances. If I am fortunate, I may ask to leave this country with credit.

Tellicherry, on the Malabar Coast,
December 29, 1782.

Dear Sir,

I HAVE shot so many letters at you, that I can have no doubt of some of them having reached you. I shall, therefore, take it for granted that you know of my having had the command of a small army on this coast since last March,—that you

have received my letters, informing you of my having defeated *Mugdam Sahab*, and afterwards *Goolam Odin*, before the raitts ; and of my intention of going up to *Palisacatcherry* this campaign, the fortress which commands the pass, through the *Balagate* Mountains, to the *Coromandel* Coast. I have told you in my other letters, how my march to this important fortress drew upon me *Tippoo Sahab*, *Hyder's* best general, and eldest son, with an army of 30,000 men and 24 pieces of artillery ; and I have given you the circumstances of our retreat before this formidable army, with only 2000 men ; in which we marched 36 miles without stopping, and crossed 3 large rivers in their face, without losing a single piece of baggage or artillery. I just mention the heads of these circumstances, lest you should not have received my other letters ; and I shall continue what has since happened.— The place to which I directed my retreat is a town, called *Paniani*, about a degree and $\frac{1}{2}$ to the south of this place, a strong post, and in which I had my magazines. On my arrival there, I found Colonel *Macleod*, of the 42d, who being my senior

officer, of course, took the command. A few days after our arrival, and before we had time to strengthen ourselves by any works, *Tippoo Saheb* attempted to force us. *Monf. Lally* planned and conducted the attack ; they were repulsed with the loss of upwards of 1000 men killed and wounded ; amongst whom were two *French* captains of *Monf. Lally's* corps, *Goolam O'Din*, commissioned officer for *Hyder* before *Tippoo's* arrival, and several 'principal officers. - On this severe check, *Tippoo* retired about eight miles from us, and lay there inactive several days : during that time we worked hard, and intrenched ourselves completely. We expected and wished he would again attack us, instead of which he at once moved off to the eastward by very rapid marches, and, to our surprise, withdrew his whole force to the other coast. We have received intelligence of *Hyder's* death, though not yet positively confirmed, which accounts for his conduct. It is too long a detail for me to explain to you all the reasons which induced me to undertake this expedition, or the political consequences it may have, (or even has had) on the gene-

ral issue of the war. The Presidency of *Bombay*, under whose orders I am placed by the commander in chief, is extremely mortified, that a King's officer should, in spite of them, retain, for so long a time, the command of their troops; they, therefore, very generously left me 12 months without money, or stores, or orders, fully determined to disapprove of any plan I adopted. The Presidency of *Madras*, on the contrary, have the same opinion of the expedition that I have, and have felt the good consequences of it, although not successful. I have, therefore, general censure from *Bombay*, and thanks from *Madras*. The present plan of the Presidency of *Bombay* will, I should imagine, be liable to much censure. They have withdrawn all the troops from the *Callicut* territories, and have sent down their Commander in Chief, Brigadier-General *Mathews*, with a very considerable addition of force to attack *Hyder's* provinces, to the northward of *Mangalore*. The consequences of abandoning *Callicut* are terrible; we have used every means in our power to induce the *Nairs*, the inhabitants of that province, to

join us ; in consequence of which, they revolted from *Hyder's* Government, and gave us every supply and assistance, and joined us in considerable numbers : in return, we abandoned them, without remorse, to the mercy of a most implacable enemy ; and any man who is acquainted with the maxims of *Hyder's* Government, and has been witness to the cruelty of his punishments, must be shocked when he reflects on the sufferings that will inevitably be inflicted on these unfortunate people. It must be totally destructive of all future confidence on this coast, as to our alliance alone they will very justly attribute the calamities they will suffer. . If, however, the abandoning our friends and allies was justified by state necessity, or even by the attainment of any much more important object, it might be vindicated by the maxims of *Machiavelian* policy ; but I think this does not appear to be the case. The only object of military operations against *Hyder's* possessions on this coast, is to compel him to quit the *Carnatic* ; for the people have at last discovered, that Sir *Eyre Coote's* excursions in the *Carnatic*, and his

fruitless victories, have very little effect on the issue of the war. While *Hyder* continues in the *Carnatic*, he is, and must be, absolute master of the country ; our garrisons, even *Madras* itself, can protect only within the reach of its guns : when our army marches out, they are pretty much in the same situation, and surrounded on every side by innumerable bodies of cavalry, command only the ground they occupy. They derive no advantage from these excursions ; they find the country laid waste on every side of them ; nor can they procure a day's provision beyond what they bring with them from *Madras*. Our army has never been possessed of conveyance for above 20 days' provision, and consequently never equal to any enterprise of moment. *Hyder*, on the contrary, has the most ample conveyance for artillery, stores, and provisions ; possessed of this advantage, and commanding an army of natives of the climate, and consisting chiefly of cavalry, he can march 30 miles while we march 10, and consequently carries on the war in the manner he prefers. He knows, as well as Sir *Eyre*, the day on which he will

be compelled to return to *Madras* for provisions; and during the time our army continues in the field, he either harrasses them incessantly, or, if he thinks he has any advantage, gives battle. We have, on these occasions, always defeated him; but what advantage can an army, like ours, derive from victory?—Experience proves that we derive no advantage whatever; we drive *Hyder* from the field, but we can neither take his artillery, nor prevent his retreat; every man we lose on these occasions is valuable to us, and though he should lose ten for one, it is a matter of no consequence to him. He, therefore, fights with every advantage: victory is of no avail to us, and one defeat would be utter ruin. It is evident, from these circumstances, that while *Hyder* can carry on the war, in a great measure, at our expence, and while his own dominions are untouched, and his resources unimpaired, we may be certain, he will never relinquish so valuable an object as the acquisition of the *Carnatic*. It is equally evident that, if you can invade his territories, he must return for their defence; and if you can support an army in

his country, you retaliate upon him the game he is now playing upon you, and fight him with his own resources. His dominions reach from the interior part of the peninsula to the coast of *Malabar*; and on that coast are situated many of his largest towns, and richest and most fertile provinces. The neighbourhood of the sea and many large rivers give us every advantage for the conveyance of stores and provisions; and many of these provinces are late conquests, and the inhabitants averse to his government. It is astonishing how all these advantages have been so long overlooked, and even now they are made use of, how feebly, and in a manner not by any means adequate to the very great advantages which might be derived from them. The provinces of *Canara* and *Onore*, against which we are at present proceeding, are very valuable, and are on the confines of the *Mabrattab* dominions, from whom *Hyder*, some years ago, took some considerable possessions; and from our bending our efforts this way, I hope we expect the *Mabrattabs* to join us; in that case, we shall receive from them every thing we

want,—conveyance for stores and provisions, and a large body of cavalry ; such a junction would shake *Hyder's* power to the center, and even his capital might fall. But if this expedition is undertaken without a view of such junction, we cannot proceed far from the coast, nor make any impression of consequence. On the contrary, we might have been able to do something effectual, by entering his country through the pass of *Palacatcherry*. A large army has been formed on the other coast at *Tanjore*, which has now marched to the westward of *Trichinopoly*, under the command of Colonel *Lang*. The magazines, which Mr. *Sullivan*, the Chief of *Tanjore*, has formed at *Trichinopoly*, and the quantity of draught and carriage cattle he has collected, are, in proportion to the army, far superior to any yet formed this war in *India*. The plan concerted between *Sullivan*, Colonel *Lang*, and myself, was to form a junction of our two armies in *Hyder's* intermediate country ; or if the approach of a larger army should render it impossible for me to take *Paliacatcherry*, Colonel *Lang* proposed marching across to that fortress, and by

that means effecting a junction; our two armies, if supplied in the manner *Sullivan* has undertaken, would have been equal to *Hyder*'s whole force; and by marching to the northward, would be in the very center of his dominions, and at no great distance from his capital. A stroke so decisive must have drawn him from the *Carnatic*, and as we were in a state to maintain ourselves in his country, if our grand army from *Madras* could by any means have been able to follow him, the consequences would probably have been decisive of the war. If, on the *Bombay* plan at present pursued, they have views of a junction with the *Mahrattas*, these consequences may still ensue, and *Lang*'s army will make a capital diversion to the southward. But if we have no prospect of a junction with the *Mahrattas*, we have no means of conveyance, nor is our force sufficient to withstand *Hyder*, if he pours his whole force upon us from the *Carnatic*.

Goa, February 16, 1783.

Dear Sir,

The hurry in which I write prevents my giving you a detail of the great events which have lately happened : take the following short account :

The Presidency of *Bombay*, in consequence of orders from the Directors and the Supreme Council, exerted themselves to make a vigorous impression on *Hyder's* territories on the *Malabar* coast; his most valuable possession on this coast is the province of *Bidenore*. The army I, and afterwards Colonel *Macleod*, commanded, was ordered from *Callicut* to join the force sent from *Bombay* : the whole made a very fine army, under the command of Brigadier-General *Mathews*. His conduct as an officer exceeds all credibility, and his unexampled success astonished those who were witness to it; and through that me-

dium the public must judge favourably of it. At the capital of the province we found *Hyder's* principal magazines, a very fine foundery for brass cannon, a powder manufactory, and immense stores of every kind. The province which we obtained in so short a time and with so little loss (about 200 men killed and wounded), paid an annual revenue of 700,000l. to *Hyder*; and *Mangalore*, his principal sea-port, is within it. The principal causes of our great success were *Hyder's* death; a misunderstanding generally supposed to exist between two brothers, his sons; and the inveterate animosity which *Tippoo Saheb*, now *Nabob*, is known to bear to *Hyat Saheb*, the Governor of *Bidenore*: this latter circumstance depriving him of every hope in that quarter, induced him, when he found us advancing rapidly upon him, to surrender the capital and the province, on condition of being continued as Governor. This province is fairly embosomed in that great chain of mountains, the *Gauts*, which runs north and south through the *Indian* peninsula: these mountains come within 25 miles of the sea, and it is impossible to

penetrate into the interior country and the capital but by two or three very strong and difficult passes ; and it has the peculiar felicity of being equally defended by passes on the eastern side, from whence *Tippoo* must of course attack it. You, or any other able General, would, I am sure, think the plan of defence very obvious, by securing these passes into the *Myfore* country with your whole united force : not so thinks General *Mathews*.

It is about 120 miles from *Bidenore* to *Seringapatam*, *Tippoo*'s capital ; there is no force there, nor any between it and *Bidenore*, but what is shut up in forts of no great importance. We have accounts of *Tippoo* having taken the field in the *Carnatic*, of his having been joined by a body of *French*, and of their supposed design of attacking *Vandiwash*. When *Tippoo* hears of the conquest and surrender of *Bidenore*, he must, of course, tremble for his capital, (as he cannot yet know the dispositions of our general, and the state of our army :) there are only two alternatives ; he must either say to us, restore me *Bidenore* and

I will evacuate the *Carnatic*, or he must march with the whole of his force to recover what he has lost: the instant he adopts the latter measure, our army will recover *Arcot* and every place in the *Carnatic*, and it will probably prove fatal to the army under General *Mathews*. Gen. *Mathews* is convinced, beyond all persuasion, that *Tip-poo* will not come against him, and on this supposition he very imprudently acts. I left his army the other day so scattered and detached, that he cannot assemble it in three weeks: I know, from having experienced it, the rapidity with which *Tip-poo* can move a large army and numerous artillery, and the excellent means he takes to prevent all intelligence, by having large bodies of horse on every road in his front, so that I am convinced General *Mathews* will never have three days notice of his approach, and if he finds his army in its present situation, they are irretrievably ruined; and, at any rate, I am certain he is not equal to that difficult task, a judicious defensive: but happen what will to his army, the Company will benefit by the recovery of the *Carnatic*."

The rank of Colonel *Macleod* and Colonel *Humberston* advanced them over General *Mathews*, whose rank was Colonel in the Company's service; with temporary rank of Brigadier General. On their arrival at *Bombay*, the Presidency ordered Colonel *Macleod* to return to command the army; and in the last letter I received from Colonel *Humberston*, he expresses himself as follows :

Bombay, March 2d, 1783.

“ IN this situation, the Presidency have thought proper to suspend General *Mathews*, and have given the command of the troops to Colonel *Macleod*; they have, at the same time requested my services, and, instead of one of their usual epistles, have said a great many pretty things to me. We are now going instantly down to the army, with a reinforcement of three bat-

talions of sepoy; if *Tippoo* arrives before us, I am afraid our command will be short; he will cut up the army by detail before they can possibly be assembled; at any rate we shall have warm work. The Presidency, you see, have forgiven me, and graciously taken me into their favour; I cannot forget their leaving me 12 months without money or stores, and misrepresenting my character as an officer, to the Commander in Chief, the Presidency of *Madras*, and the Supreme Council: as I was ignorant of the attack, I could make no defence; fortunately I had always corresponded with the *Madras* Presidency, and concerted measures with them; they were as warm in my defence as the *Bombay* Presidency in the attack; considering their ignorance of the true state of the case, I have really been treated with great candour by the Supreme Council."

This gallant soldier did not reach his military destination; he was mortally wounded in an unfortunate engagement of the *Ranger* with a fleet of *Mahrattah* pi-

rates, commanded by *Anandrow*, on the 8th of April, 1783.

The above statements of military establishments at different periods, and the anecdotes of detached services, may be sufficient to give an idea of the necessity of a general plan and control in the military as well as in the civil department: the conclusion is incontrovertible; a proportion of territory equal to defray the military establishments of the principal possessions is now under the absolute dominion of the *English*, and may be properly called *British India*. It is impossible to adopt the opinions of men without ascertaining the views by which they have been biased. We may read opinions from *Bombay* in 1784, and may be encouraged to remove the supreme government to that insulated corner, as the best point from whence the military strength of *British India* might enter on offensive operations against its probable enemies. The Government of *Madras*, under a very military administration *, with more propriety, urged the

* *Sir A. Campbell.*

connection of the two coasts in this line more complete.

A new government might be established at *Massulipatam* to manage the northern *Circars*; and the best advanced post might be selected, whether at *Condapillee*, or other more northern station, the defence of which the allies might entrust to the *English*, would render the guarantee of *Great Britain* effective to protect them. *Cut-tack*, which I cannot find to have been excepted in the *Mogul's* grant, but to have been alienated by the *Soubah* of *Bengal* to get rid of the invasion of the *Mahrattah* chief, may probably, by negotiation, be obtained from the *Berar* chief, whose interests are connected with the *English*, whether we consider his relation to the *Mahrattah* confederacy or to the *Nizam*: it need not follow that we should launch into the political schemes of aggrandizement of native princes, when the circumstances of the contracting parties render a mutual guarantee of *uti possidetis* a most desirable situation. The Governor General might execute the functions of his office

from either government without deranging the respective establishments ; an extra table for the Governor General, should be the only necessary expence during the occasional residence, and the permanent seat of the Supreme Board would connect the whole system of income and expenditure.

There are two sources of misery which the Commissioners under the present act should avert from *British India*, the jurisdiction with *English* forms, and the military progress against natives, whom the mismanagement of *Europeans* or *Mahomedan* sovereigns force to carry the pike. We are told *, that until Lord *Macartney* assumed the management of the *Carnatic*, “ nothing was definite, nothing concluded ; partial payments were received ; past claims were left for settlement ; many months were wasted in fitting out an expedition ; and still more in performing slight services. During the whole period of protraction, the *Renter*, the *Amildar*, the *Fouzdar*, and the *European* commander, were reaping the

* View of the *English* interests in *India*, p. 137.

harvest of corruption, and sowing an after-growth of speculation. The *Polygars* are subtle and acute; they took advantage of so corrupt a system, and notwithstanding their internal feuds, they united against a common invader. They administered to the avarice of their opponent by bribes, and to his passion for command by procrastination: thus the province was impaired, its cultivation failed, its manufactures diminished; every new collector and commander entailed new evils, and taught the *Polygars* to consider their *Peshcush* not as a just tribute to their sovereign, but as a price to purchase the forbearance of oppressors."

It would be fortunate if every commander would feel and act on the sentiments which Colonel *Fullarton* so well expressed; but it is not on the accidental good principle of a commander that the *Polygars* should depend. The *Polygar* having never experienced justice and moderation, if he should hear that *Mahomed Issoof Cawn* had said, "let the *Polygars* become *Zemindars*, and cultivate their own lands, instead of

plundering their industrious neighbours, then they shall be cherished; but while their habit is idleness, and their business devastation, I will treat every one as a public enemy who wields a pike or wears the turban of a *Polygar*;" should he hear that the *English* chief observed, on comparing the state of that country with the conduct and remark of *Mahomed*, " I found that wisdom, vigour, and integrity were never more conspicuous in any person, of whatever climate or complexion;" might not the *Polygar* answer, " have we not fallen back from the plain, and cleared, for the support of a diminished race, lands which, under one protector, might afford a tribute for protection? Do we not see the *Pollams* of the plain destroyed by the impolicy of armed Collectors, which used to protect the peasantry from the massacre of an invading enemy, and enabled them to feed the forces that protected them? Do you not witness the wretched inhabitants flying for protection under the walls of your fortrefs, devoted to famine, or driven in herds to inhabit and cultivate the table land of the tyrant *Hyder*? Can you approve the de-

nounced warfare against our race because we protect our families against injustice? Give us the blessing of a just government; regulate the tribute in just proportion to our means, and chearfully will the pike fall from our hands, and with thankfulness will we promote the cultivation of the country." If this wretched warfare still continues, and the *British* arms reek with the blood of tributaries, which I know they do, I trust, for the honour of *British* influence, that the fair experiment of amicable arrangement has in every instance preceded the measures of rigour.

It is necessary to enter farther into the subject of the proper constitution of the army for *British India*; the importance of draft bullocks and of cavalry is unquestioned; the means by which *Tippoo* ensures a supply of each appears by his regulations. The *British* Government has not even ascertained, in what manner the *Soubab* of *Bengal* maintained his cavalry: the western side of the *Doab*, which used to afford pasturage to a stud of the provinces, by the charge *Scindia* has taken of the *Mogul*,

may now raise the remount of an hostile cavalry. The idea of *British* protection of fairs or markets from the extortion of Governors and *Zemindars*, has not yet invited the horse dealers of the interior part of *India* to consider, as in ancient periods, the markets of the peninsula, and of the *Soubah* of *Bengal*, to be accessible to their trade. It has been a subject of discussion, whether natives are trust worthy. The pay, the appointments, and the justice of *Great Britain* entitle it to be the preferable service: desertions have not been so frequent as they might have been expected under the difficulties of service and the irregularity of pay; they have contributed little to the discipline of the enemy in comparison to the immediate service of the *French* and *Europeans* in *Tippoo's* pay. The re-establishing villages with boundary fences in the *Carnatic*, would protect the natives against irregular incursions and depredation; and in the provinces the regular plan of villages might contribute to health and safety: a regular limited service, and invalid settlements for the different corps, at proper stations, combined

with the wise regulations of a continual succession of the children of the soldiers in the sepoy battalions, will give proper and sufficient connection and attachment to the *British* service. The competitors for power, during many years, existed by the plunder of treasures, the accumulation of powerful sovereigns. The countries of *India* now are reduced to their actual annual resources, and the temptation to rival *Great Britain*, in a great degree ceases, for the acquisition of sovereignty would cost any rival *European* nation more treasure than the conquest would repay; and under a wise management, the advantages of trade might be granted and guaranteed under the protection of *Great Britain*, and become more profitable to *European* nations, than by the maintenance of independent settlements: they should be admitted to enjoy the freedom of trade on *a par* with *British* subjects, only when they renounced their pretension to sovereignty in *British India*: a regulation which now depends on *Great Britain*.

If any example from the history of the natives should be required to warn us from

unnecessary extension of warfare, we might refer to the example of the *Mabrattahs*, who, on the decline of the *Mogul* empire, having enriched themselves by depredatory excursions in *Hindoostan* and in the *Decan*, extended their ambition to become the sovereigns of *India*, as *Buffy* had foreseen. *Bala Row*, who sat on the *Musnud* of the *Mabrattah* government in the *Decan*, fitted out an expedition for completing the conquest of *Hindoostan*, under the supreme command of *Raghunaut Row*, in 1760: *Mulhar Row* *Hulkur*, *Junkooges Scindia*, and other chiefs, with their forces, acted under his orders. They compelled *Ahmed Shah Durrany* to repass the *Attock*, and kept possession of the country on the east of the *Attock*; but the army falling in arrears, they were obliged to return to the *Decan*, and it appeared that a debt of 88 lacks was due to the army; so much had the expences exceeded all the collection of tribute, *pesheush*, &c. On being reprimanded by the *Bhow* for bringing home debts instead of an increase of wealth, *Raghunaut Row* desired the *Bhow* to try his own skill, and see what advantage he could

make of it. The conquest was so much the object of ambition to the *Mahrattahs*, that the *Bhow* convened the forces of the *Mahrattahs* and their tributaries, together amounting to 55,000 horse, 15,000 foot, besides the garrison of *Delhi*, about 24,000 men.

The *Duranny* army consisted of 41,800 horse and 38,000 infantry, with 70 or 80 pieces of cannon. The camp followers in *Indian* armies may be reckoned as three to one of the military. The conflict of this great armament, in January, 1761, terminated in the complete defeat of the *Mahrattahs*, by the battle of *Paniput*; a detailed narrative of which, translated from the original of *Casi Rajah Pundit*, who was present, forms an interesting article in the *Asiatic Researches* *.

* *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. III. p. 91.

CHAP. XIX.

*On the Consistency of parliamentary Vigilance,
and Assertion of the Rights of the Crown
to the Sovereignty of British India.*

FROM the perusal of Mr. *Russell's* Dissertation on the Rights of the Company, we might conclude, that the conquest of *Bengal*, in 1765, tempted Parliament to infringe the rights of the Company. He expresses himself as follows: "Nor, from the first erection of the Company by *Queen Elizabeth*, till the accidental conquest of *Bengal*, had the right of the Company been called in question to acquire, by any means they could devise, settlement, territory, or other property in *India* for their own benefit. It was the magnitude of that conquest which first excited public attention; and a general maxim of law, of which, perhaps, no instance or occasion for its being exerted, or acted upon, had

happened for centuries, if ever, in this kingdom, was now enforced by Parliament, with a saving, however, of rights, so as to leave the question open to litigation at some future period *."

This having been nearly the late opinion of persons high in office, and the situation of Mr. *Russell*, giving to his opinion, in a degree, the sanction of official authority, I shall shortly revise the declared opinions of Parliament; and if, at the interval of a century, no inconsistency or dereliction of right shall appear; the propriety of giving to a general saving clause of rights a constructive extent, tantamount to an admission of the independant right, and of progressively extending the claims of the Company, when the equitable decisions of Parliament superseded the necessity of questions of speculative foundation and dangerous tendency, will be more fairly considered, than by any more general refutation which I could offer.

* Short History, p. 57-

In 1698*, “ the *East-India* trade, which had been many years depending, and was looked on as so nice and difficult, that it had been referred to the King and his Council, and back again by them to the Parliament,” was settled. The claims of the Old *East-India* Company, almost the same now adduced, were supported by the *Tories*; and the rights of the public were then asserted by the *Whigs*, who supported the new subscribers†, and produced the provisoes, in the King’s Charter, in evidence, that the King had not granted to the extent of the Company’s claims, but, on the contrary, that Parliament had resolved, in 1691, “ that it was lawful for all persons to trade to the *East Indies*, unless restrained by act of Parliament; and that the King’s message to the House, in 1692, plainly signified, that the concurrence of Parliament was requisite for making a complete and useful settlement of the *East-India* trade.” His Majesty having commanded a Committee of his Privy

* Parliamentary Debates, 1698.

† *Anderfon’s History of Commerce*, Vol. I. p. 221.

Council to prepare regulations for the trade of the Old Company, all the material particulars had been rejected by them; and his Majesty finding that what was requisite could not be perfected by his own authority alone, and that the concurrence of Parliament was requisite to make a complete and useful settlement of this trade, he had directed all the proceedings to be laid before them*; “that it was never esteemed a breach of faith, nor a derogation from the credit of the *Great Seal*, nor from the honour of our Kings, to have their patents annulled by Parliament, when it appeared that such grants were either unprofitable or contrary to the common rights of the subject; neither did any Kings think themselves bound, in honour or conscience, to refuse passing an act of Parliament for annulling such grants; that, moreover, Kings having often been deceived in such grants, they have been frequently annulled by the ordinary course of law.” In pursuance of these, among other reasonings, the House came to 9

* Parliamentary Debates, 1698.

resolutions, which were first tendered to the Old Company *, but were rejected by them; and an act was then passed in favour of the general society of traders to the *East Indies*; notwithstanding, the “reasonable doubt of the Proteſting Lords †, whether the ſeparate trade, allowed in this bill, concurrent with a joint ſtock, may not prove ſo inconſiſtent as to diſcourage the ſubſcription from ever coming to a million.” The regulations were ſo much approved by the public, that two million ſterling were ſubſcribed in three days. Mr. *Anderson* drew ſome “important reflections on this law, and on the bleſſings of the free conſtitution ſince the eſtabliſhment of King *William*, and the ever-excellent law, called the Declaration of Rights ‡.” I ſhall only farther obſerve, that, in my private opinion, the reſolutions, on which that act was founded, appear politic and juſt, and to be more adequate to the encouragement of adventure, than the private agency of the

* Parliamentary Debates, 1698.

† Lords’ Proteſt, July 1, 1698.

‡ *Anderson’s Hiſtory of Commerce*, Vol. I. p. 223.

Company to the privilege of private trade, by the present act; and the 5. *per cent.* payable to the Company, under the regulations of the act of 1698*, to be more eligible than the 3 *per cent.* duty subject to the limitations of the act of 1793†.

The present act has extended to private persons the benefit of the *East-India* trade, under regulations consistent with those of the act of King *William*: wherefore, the regulations, by that act affecting the separate traders, now apply to the private traders. The combined adventurers being subject to the legal control of the commis-

* 9 and 10 *Will.* III., c. 44, sec. 69, 76. 6 *Anne*, c. 3. 5 *Geo.* I., c. 21, sec. 9. 7 *Geo.* I., c. 21, sec. 9.

† Vide page 117.

N. B. Examine these statutes, as well as the abstract, of the present act, which I consider to be, in general, correct, it having been printed correctly from one of the copies, circulated by the Board of Control among the Peers of Parliament, after the bill had passed the Commons. Since I saw Mr. *Russell's* Second Edition, I suppose it to be compiled by the *Solicitor* of the *Board of Control*, for he also has given it as an appendix to that Edition of his *Short History* of the *East-India* Company.

sioners each year, the important clause in the act, 1698, I suppose to be in full force: it is as follows :

* “ That no company, or particular person or persons, who shall have a right, in pursuance of this act, to trade to the *East Indies*, or other parts within the limits aforesaid, shall be allowed to trade thither until sufficient security be first given, that such company, or particular persons, shall cause all the goods, &c., in any ship or ships whatsoever, bound from the *East Indies*, to be brought, without breaking bulk, to some port of *England* or *Wales*, and there be unladen and put on land; and in case there shall be difficulty in the acceptance of such security, it shall, and may, be determined by the Lord Chief Baron, or Barons of the Coif of the Exchequer, or any of them, according to his or their best judgement and discretion; and that all goods or merchandize, so imported from the *East Indies* into *England* or *Wales*, shall be sold openly and publicly, by inch of

* 9 and 10 *William III.* sec. 79.

candle, upon their respective accounts; and not otherwise, upon pain, that the same shall be forfeited and lost; one moiety thereof to his Majesty, and the other moiety to any person or persons that will seize and sue for the same, by action of bill, plaint, or information, as aforesaid."

It will not be necessary to enter farther on the principle and regulations of the act, 1698. I have already considered cursorily the principle of the act, 1793, relative to trade, in the preceding pages *. The Old Company subscribed largely to the new fund, and soon coalesced with the New Company; and by act of Parliament were formed into the Company of united merchants, trading exclusively on a joint stock, and on the united privileges of the two charters.

The proceedings of Parliament, connected with the period, particularly examined in the preceding pages, were as follow :

* Introduction, p. xli.

So early as 1757, the Company petitioned the *King* to be permitted to hold and enjoy, subject to his Majesty's Sovereignty therein, all fortresses, districts, and territories, as they had already acquired, or might acquire from any nation, state, or people, by treaty, grant, or conquest.

His Majesty granted the *booty* and *plunder*; and he was advised by his Attorney and Solicitor General, the late Chancellor *Yorke*, and the present Earl *Camden*, "that it is not warranted by precedent, nor agreeable to sound policy, nor to the *tenor of the charter*, which have been laid before us, to make such general grant, not only of past, but of future contingent conquests, made upon any power, *European* or *Indian*, to a trading company*."

The first act for appropriating *territorial revenues* of *India*, was in 1766. It was considered as a new kind of money bill, not being founded upon any resolutions of

* Mr. *Ruffell's* Short History, p. 11. Appendix to Vol. I. *Bolt's* History for the Report and Petition.

the Committees of supply, or of ways and means *: whereby it avoided the objection stated in the second article of the Lords' protests, in 1698, that the *East-India* subscription had been introduced as a supply of two millions, by which the Commons included the regulation of the *East-India* trade, to which the Lords were not denied to have an equal right of judgement and freedom of vote, with the privileges claimed by the Commons, as to supply and moneyed bills †. The *East-India* business was introduced into the House on November 25, 1765. The acts of 9 and 10, King *William III.* c. 24., and 7, *George I.* c. 21. were, on motion, read to the House, and a committee of the whole House appointed to sit on that day fortnight; this inquiry gave rise to the new money bill. The Committee had proceeded in their inquiry, when, at last, on the 20th of May, 1766, the *East-India* Company presented a petition, praying the aid of Parliament to give powers to control their servants, and to

* Parliamentary Debates, Vol. XX. p. 279.

† Lords' Protests, July 1, 1698.

apply the territorial revenues to the discharge of the civil and military establishments, charges of fortifications, buildings, and repairs ; and to sanction an agreement in behalf of the state, viz. 400,000 out of the profits of their trade, and the residue of the territorial revenue ; the net surplus to be divided with the public ; the agreement to take place from February, 1767, and 3 last years, “ provided the *Dewanee* of *Bengal*, *Babar*, and *Orissa*, shall remain in the Company’s hands.” The Company introduced their petition to Parliament, not as claimants of territory, but as a commercial company, their proper description in Parliament ; they prayed not only leave to extend their commerce, by investing the landed revenue in the produce of the country, and to be protected against their own servants by restrictions against smuggling, but also requested that inland duties of *Great Britain* be modified to give every advantage to a commerce, in which the public, not only individually, but collectively, as a nation, would, under such agreement, participate.

The House came to four resolutions on the eight propositions of the Company.

1. That it would be of mutual benefit to the public and the *East-India* Company, "that a temporal agreement be made, in regard to the territorial revenues lately obtained in *India*."

2. That the agreement continue for 3 years from February 1, 1767.

3. "That the said acquisitions and revenues do remain in possession of the Company during the continuance of such agreement, and that the Company do pay the public annually, during the said term, the sum of 400,000*l*."

4. That it will be necessary, for the purpose of extending the trade, to grant drawbacks, &c.

The three first resolutions were adopted *nem. con.*, and a bill was ordered to be brought in upon them; the fourth was referred to a Committee of Ways and Means.

This question was fully discussed in Parliament the 9th of March, 1773* ; Lord *North* presented papers containing letters between Mr. Secretary *Pitt* and Mons. *Busfy*, to explain the sentiments of the *British* and *French* Courts respecting the territorial acquisitions in *India*. Mr. *Dowdeswell* produced an extract of a foreign dispatch, from which he argued, that, as far as the sentiments of the Crown could be collected, the Company was understood to have exclusive right to the territories it possessed, whether acquired by conquest or otherwise. The House, without a division, adopted the motion to *aid* and *control* the Company.

The question of the Company's right was again debated the 23d of March, when Lord *North* moved, that the dividends of the Company should be limited to 8 *per cent.* until the participation between the public and the Company should take place. Mr. *Russell's* argument was then adduced against the right of the state generally, that

* Parliamentary Debates, Vol. XXIV. p. 241.

the Company's territorial possessions were held by *grant under office*, and not by conquest*; and this Mr. *Burke* contended, and went so far as to say, that no lawyer had ventured positively to assert that, even had they been all gained by conquest, the Crown had a right to them; which Sir *Fletcher Norton* denied, and read to the House three opinions, expressly affirming the right of the Crown to the *East-India* Company's territorial possessions: and he also adduced his own opinion in support of the motion. On the 5th of April, Lord *North* informed the House that, in answer to the petition of the *East-India* Company, the King left the sole determination to the House of Commons; and he moved the proposition to let the territorial acquisitions remain in the possession of the Company for a limited time, to reduce the Company's debt to £.1,500,000, and then three fourth of the net surplus of the revenue to be paid into the Exchequer, and one fourth to discharge the contingent

* Parliamentary Debates, Vol. XXIV. p. 255.

exigences of the Company*, which passed; and on the 10th of April the House came to three distinct resolutions :

1. That all acquisitions made under the influence of military force, or by treaty with foreign powers, do of right belong to the state.

2. That to appropriate acquisitions, acquired under the influence of a military force, or by treaty with foreign powers, to private use, is illegal.

3. That great sums of money have been obtained by such means from the sovereign Princes in *India*.

The third resolution, leading to condemnation of the Company's servants, occasioned a debate; but the three resolutions passed.

On the 19th of April, a resolution against Lord *Clive* revived the debate; the Solici-

* Parliamentary Debates, Vol. XXIV. p. 261.

tor General, the present Lord Chancellor, *Loughborough*, very ably and honourably resisted the conviction of respectable men, on the resolution of the Select Committee, appointed to examine and report the state of the *East-India* Company's affairs, and not to judge delinquents. Those who heard Lord *Clive*'s speech on that occasion, felt the power of that species of oratory which is the effusion of a dignified mind on a critical occasion: the House unanimously voted a resolution testifying their acknowledgement of the great and meritorious services of Lord *Clive*.

Mr. *Russell*, not satisfied with one equitable principle and moderate rule of participation, continued, from 1766 to 1793, by different acts; when the act of this year was under consideration, as an *East-India* proprietor, and soon after the passing of the act, in his own person respectable in private and official character, maintained distinctions exploded in the last century, resting much on the said opinion of the year 1757, "that the property of the soil may be vested in the Company by *Indian*

grants;" and seems to forget the end of the sentence, " subject only to your Majesty's right of sovereignty over the settlements as *English settlements*:" and he seems to have overlooked the proceeding in Parliament, though he quotes part of the resolution of the House of Commons in 1773. I could not more attentively to Mr. *Russell* pursue this discussion and controvert his data, than by adducing parliamentary opinions; and the degree of importance I annex to the investigation, arises from my conviction that the control of Parliament will be adequate to its object, if it will not suffer the constitutional rights of the sovereign to be eluded by nominal government and fictitious titles, or by political veils continued beyond the period of political necessity; and that the rights and property of the subject in *British India* will continue to be violated, and remain insecure, until the rights of the Crown and of the public are defined, avowed, and asserted,

Various acts of Parliament have continued, in principle and substance, this equitable

modification for the management of *India*, and for the participation of its resources to the advancement of the political and commercial interests of *Great Britain*, to the present year. Great as the contests were in 1783 and 4, on the final settlement of an effective control, the opinion of both parties coincided in the necessity of a strong responsible government; and notwithstanding Mr. *Fox's* bills were made the ostensible objects of attack, by which the coalition administration was overturned, the bills proposed by Mr. *Pitt* did not omit any essential principle of strong and effective control; although they were modified and applied in a judicious manner, to avoid the popular prejudices and alarms which had been excited.

The bill proposed by Mr. *Fox*, for the better government of the territorial possessions and dependencies in *India*, contained express clauses to protect the natives; they struck directly at great and marked practices of oppression, and would have prevented their continuance or repetition, under the same modifications in which the

abuse had appeared flagrant on the records of Parliament ; the rights of the state, and of the subject, however, were not sufficiently ascertained to be accurately defined ; and it is obvious how easy and infinite the evasions would have continued in *India*, until regulations had been made critically accurate. In this point of view, therefore, the rights of the natives ought to have acquired certain and equitable definition sooner under Mr. *Pitt's* bill than by the operation of Mr. *Fox's* bill ; because it did not proceed to lay down the absolute rule on incorrect documents, but prescribed accurate investigation on the spot, previous to the declaration of the rights of persons, or the remedy for abuses. I cannot explain the singular concurrence of two plans and investigations, before mentioned *, to give effect to Mr. *Pitt's* bill, in any other manner than that enacting clauses of Mr. *Fox's* bill, providing against known and acknowledged oppression, gained due preference in the then inexperienced Board of Control, to the investigations of a new Governor

* Vide page 384.

General and of his *European Serishtadar*; and the sanction of that bill was no inconsiderable support to the opinion which Mr. *Francis* had maintained on the subject of the settlement of *India*. It is therefore not paradoxical to say, that both the bills of Mr. *Pitt* and Mr. *Fox* have been applied to *British India*; if they had not, the opinions of Mr. *Shore* and of Mr. *Rousse* could not have coincided with Mr. *Francis*. But the comparative statement of these bills by Mr. *Sheridan**, and an accurate review of the bills themselves†, will shew the power in both bills nearly equal; and that so far as the definition of personal rights, and the relation of natives to the *British* Government were enacted by Mr. *Fox*'s bill, they have been adopted, and found erroneous. But it must also be remembered that a definition of persons is a matter of fact, and not of opinion, and that the fact has been so artificially involved in

* Comparative Statement of the two Bills, &c. with explanatory observations by R. B. *Sheridan*, Esq. *Debrett*, 1788.

† Vide Parliamentary Debates, Vol. XXX. p. 316, copies of Mr. *Fox* and Mr. *Pitt*'s *East-India* Bills,

mystery, that until the *Moccurrery* plan had failed, even the investigation and assertion of the *Serishtadar*, supported by the native records of *India*, were disregarded, and the period of settling a permanent system, to meet the expiration of the Company's charter, arrived before it was in the power of the King's Ministers to lay before Parliament an accurate detail of a system, in all its parts, applicable to *British India*, or sufficiently correct to be recommended for its internal government, under the sanction of Parliament; and it still requires much political sagacity to guess the period when it will be safe and prudent to guarantee the permanency of internal *British* administration: but Parliament should recollect how imperfect even the charter of the natives of *India* appears on the statutes*; without serious examination it cannot guarantee nor confirm the measures of the Commissioners to ascertain and define the rights and customs of the natives. I hope the present act will prove the æra of intelligible system: the King's

* Vide page 135.

commission extended to the army in *India*; specie coined in the King of *England*'s name should be sanctioned by Parliament, and announced by the *King's British India*; and to *India* in general; that it may be known, from the highest executive authority, that the honour of the Crown and Parliament of *Great Britain* guarantee a just administration of the Company in its several governments; and that all sovereigns, the allies, and other chiefs and natives, the subjects to *British India*, who, by subsidy or tribute, shall discharge their stipulations with good faith to the *British* Government, shall be protected in their lives, properties, customs, and religion, not only against *British*, but native tyranny and oppression, to the utmost extent which a sincere and well-intentioned direction of the legislative and executive authority of *Great Britain* shall be able to enforce.

CHAP. XX.

On the last provincial Reform in India.

AN extract from a *Calcutta Gazette*, of Friday, the 29th of March, 1793, has just announced an entire new plan of revenue collection and judicature, to take place in the new *Bengalese* year, beginning in *April* last.

Provincial Courts of Appeal are established in the following cities :

At <i>Moorsbedabad</i> ,	$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} 5 \\ \text{each} \end{array} \right\}$	3 Judges,
At <i>Dacca</i> ,		1 Register,
At <i>Patna</i> ,		1 Assistant.

Exclusive of one city Judge and one Register. At *Calcutta* a fourth Court of Appeal independent of the Supreme Court of Judicature.

Twenty - three collections, or districts, are to form the revenue division of the *Bengal* provinces ; in each, one Collector,

one Judge, and one Register of the *Killab* Court; and in fix of the collections an assistant Collector is allowed.

The Collector, with a fixed salary, is to collect.

The Judge, with a salary and commission on the collection of the revenues of the district, is to administer justice in the *Kutcherry*, *Fougedarry*, and *Adaulet* Courts.

Appeals from the *Killab* Courts are open to the *City* Courts, in all cases whatsoever; and appeals from the *City* Courts to the Governor General in council are allowed in all cases exceeding 500 rupees.

Besides this, I hear that every 20 miles square is to form a district, in which natives, with a salary, are to be appointed to preside over the police of the district, at the charge of the natives.

When the minute of Marquis Cornwallis, and farther particulars shall arrive,

the measure may be better understood : I only give the above outline of it as a supplement to what I before stated *. Instead of the amended code in 1793, which I considered to be inevitable, a complete new official arrangement has appeared ; it opens a dawn of hope that a system of just administration will arise in *British India*, but it requires not only the good intention, but the high authority, of Lord *Cornwallis* to correct and establish it. If other modern incumbrances of *British* management are fairly removed, and native rights equitably defined, a modification of the present plan may become adequate to the protection of the natives and to the improvement of the revenue ; but if this laudable and bold measure, which, unfortunately, will almost bear date with the departure of Lord *Cornwallis*, is meant to go no farther than to separate the collection from the judicial process in revenue causes, leaving the native civil and criminal jurisdiction, and the Supreme Court of Judicature, in vigour, it is easy to foresee that ba-

* Vide page 448.

lances, with multiplied and complex procefs, will continue, and that the Collectors will deduce, plaufibly and truly, as far as relates to the revenue, the new labyrinth of confufion to arife from their lofs of power.

It will hardly efcape Lord *Cornwallis's* obfervation, when he reflects on Sir *John Shore's* minute in 1789, and the 77,000 caufes which were undecided in December, 1791 *, that a facred register of lands, afcertained by actual meafurement, fuch as I have fhewn the *Canongoe* register to have been, of itfelf will prove the fimpleft evidence of rights; and that a well-digefed code of civil and criminal judicature, will render the native *Fougedarry*, *Adaulet*, and *Kutcherry* jurifdiction fimple and intelligible. Whether the divifions are called diftricts or *Chucklabs*, or any other name, confidering how very great a proportion of the native caufes are connected with the revenue, it may alfo occur to Lord *Cornwallis* that the above-ftated eftablifhment

* Vide page 447.

might be applied, and answer all the purposes of good government. In towns a police office must be vigorous, in proportion to the complicated irregularity of luxury and mixed population ; but I need not speculate so far, for, I venture to predict, if the new arrangement is not perfected by Lord *Cornwallis*, or by *as powerful* and *honest* hands, this fair beginning will vanish ; in which case, he must be a bold man who will again begin fresh experiments of a necessary practical reform.

If the various points of view in which I have shewn the necessity of ascertaining the real circumstances and relation of the natives to their *British* Sovereign may appear to be superseded by this late reform, I will once more attempt to shew that, notwithstanding the revenue department, at this time distinct in its collection from its judicial function, will become, in fact and in form, more correct, it will not render the districts sufficiently compact, nor make the constant reference and appeal of the subject to the Magistrate in his *Kutcherry*, *Fougedarry*, and *Adawlet* jurif-

dition, matter of accommodation to the *Reyuts*, if they are to have any rights ; nor to *Zemindars*, if they are to be rendered opulent by devoting the *Pottab*-holder or *Reyut* to absolute vassalage. The neglect of actual measurement of lands, of registry, and of equitable participation of the crops, bears equal date with the *British* revenue administration, and will still exist ; and the definition of persons and things are still erroneous and impolitic,

In 1766, the *Bengal* Government informed the Directors, “ our proceedings point out to you the increase of your rents issuing from the *Calcutta lands*, and the prospect we have of rating them still higher, without exaction or oppression. It evidently appears to us that great frauds were formerly committed in these collections ; with a view of correcting which, we have determined that the leases granted to the present farmers shall expire on the 1st of September next ; by that time we hope to ascertain the value exactly, at least we shall then silence the clamour of the inhabitants against what they deem a *mo-*

popoly, by universally *diffusing* and *extending* the benefit arising from the possession of lands among the most substantial and respectable *Banyans* and *black merchants* living under your protection *."

In consequence of this determination, the ancient land-holders were displaced to make way for a new class of renters, and the private speculations of the Company's servants, through the medium of their *Banyans*, extended to the produce of the land. The calamities of a famine were hastened by the stored grain of private men, unlike the granaries of the *Hindoos*, not being at the disposal of a wise administration to avert or soften the tropical calamities occasionally incident to the country. The *Shreffs* and *Banyans* derived their profit from public distress; and it does not appear that the profits of their *Christian* principals were relinquished to the call of humanity.

* Reports, Vol. I. Appendix, No. 46. Letter from Select Committee, Fort William, Jan. 31, 1766.

With the famine of the year 1770 the *farming* system under native agency closed ; the *subsidiary* system under *British* agency did not revert to equitable management, nor to any better protection of the rights of the tenantry, the *Reyûts*, nor of the *Zemindars*.

Official reports, taken by contrasting the *Bengal* provinces, for many years past free from the devastations of fire and the sword, with the *Carnatic*, the scene of continued warfare, or with the neighbouring states, the scene of anarchy and warfare incident to unsettled governments, have been the foundation of assertions*, “ that *British India* is in a state of prosperity unknown to it under the most wise and politic of its ancient sovereigns.” And Mr. *Francis*, on many occasions, has referred to a letter from Lord *Cornwallis*†, which plainly describes, in different terms, the state of the provinces.

* Mr. *Dundas*.

† Letter from Earl *Cornwallis* to the Directors, dated August 2, 1789 ; reprinted as an Appendix to Mr. *Francis*’ Letter to Lord *North*. *Debrett*, 1793.

“ Independent of all other considerations, I can assure you that it will be of the utmost importance, for promoting the solid interests of the Company, that the principal land-holders and traders in the interior parts of the country should be *restored* to such circumstances, as to enable them to support their families with decency, and to give a liberal education to their children, according to the customs of their respective casts and religions, that a regular gradation of ranks may be supported, which is no where more necessary than in this country, for preserving order in civil society.

“ I am sorry to be obliged to say, that *agriculture and commerce* has for many years been gradually declining ; and that at present, excepting the class of *Shroffs* and *Banyans*, who reside almost entirely in great towns, the inhabitants of these provinces *were advancing hastily to a general state of poverty and wretchedness*. In this description I must even include almost every *Zemindar* in the Company's territories, which, though it may have been

partly occasioned by their own indolence and extravagance, I am afraid must also be, in a great measure, attributed to the defects of our former system of management."

I do not suppose Mr. *Francis* brought forward this opinion of Lord *Cornwallis*'s to establish a conclusion corresponding to that which I deduce from it. I not only consider the representation of Lord *Cornwallis* to be the fact, but to be the natural inevitable consequence of the financial plans of 1766, which, under different names and modifications, have continued to this day, and which Mr. *Francis*'s plan of settlement, in as great a degree as Sir *John Shore*'s system, tended to perpetuate; the error has been general, but delinquency does not attach to error. It cannot be doubted Lord *Cornwallis* intended to *restore* the *old* landholders to comfort and competency, and to bring back opulence by protecting increasing property.

The consultations of Sir *John Shore* and Mr. *Law* to execute these beneficent pur-

poses in the best manner which they deemed practicable, consistently with Mr. *Francis's* principle of settlement, viz. without actual measurement, and accurate or equalized assessment, may be collected from the explanation of the *Mocurrery* plan*.

“ If earthquakes or inundation, or *mistaken* assessment, render the village inadequate to bear the land tax, the *proprietor* should be at liberty to resign.” “ Numerous *rich men* will take villages with even a temporary loss, upon the prospect of recovery by improvement†.” The indifference of the revenue department of Government to the change of proprietors‡ in 1789; the proposed permanence of unequal assessment and dereliction of *Reyuts* to absolute dependence on *Zemindars* in 1776, are only modifications of the avowed system of 1766; and I am sure it is very far from my intention to insinuate that any of these plans were proposed as scourges to the country: I only plead in behalf of

* Sketch of late Arrangements. Mr. *Shore's* Questions and Mr. *Law's* Answers, Feb. 5, 1789, p. 95.

† Ibid. p. 96.

‡ Ibid. p. 91.

the *Zemindars* and *Reyuts*, that these *British* systems were founded on error, and have a direct tendency to destroy the rights of different orders of natives, the preservation of which is essential to the prosperity of *British India*; and until their rights and property are protected, the only rich natives will be the *Shroffs* and *Banyans*.

The establishment of my principle is so far from resting on new grounds, that its confirmation may be deduced from history: the *Romans* bore relation to *Asia Minor* and *Egypt*, as the *English* do to *British India*. The *Jews* were to the *Roman* conquerors in the precise relation which the *Hindoos* should be to the *British*. *Alexandria* had been selected by the *Macedonian* conqueror as the best site for a new *Emporium* to his extended dominions; and the *Romans*, in their turn, joined it to their empire.

Adrian, in a letter to *Servianus*, observes, that *Alexandria** was inhabited by *Jews*,

* *Civitas opulenta dives foecunda, in qua nemo vivat otiosus. Alii vitrum conflant, ab aliis charta con-*

Samaritans, Christians, and worshippers of the *Egyptian* deities; and that all these people, notwithstanding the diversity of their opinions and their religious squabbles, in reality, worshiped only one God, and “that God was money*.” Passing over the particulars of similitude, I shall state, from *Josephus*, the causes by which the justice and good intention of *Roman* administration failed in their effect. He informs us, that the *Ptolomies*, as well as the *Romans*, depended much on the management of the *Alexandrian Jews*, who had the entire charge of the river; and that the wisest administration of grain in *Rome* had been transferred from *Syria* and *Alexandria*.” He says, “if *Antiochus* plundered the tem-

ficitur: alii linyphiones sunt: omnes certe cujuscunque artis, et videntur et habentur. Podagrosi quod agant habent; habent cæci quod faciant: ne chiragrici quidem apud eos otiosi vivunt. Unus illis deus est, hunc Christiani, hunc Judæi, hunc omnes venerantur et gentes: et utinam esset morata civitas, digna profecto sui profunditate, quæ pro sui magnitudine, totius *Ægypti* teneat principatum. Huic ego cuncta concessi, vetera privilegia reddidi, nova sic addidi ut præsentis gratias agerent. *Flavii Vespisci Saturninus*, p. 723.

* *Jortin*.

ple when in friendship with us, his want of money ought not to excite ridicule, the cloak by which his friends attempt to hide the impiety *." If in one instance "*Germanicus* was unable to measure out grain amply to his army, it was the fault of the season, and not of the *Jews*." In another place *Josephus* explains the causes of sedition in that city. "The *Egyptians* crowding into *Alexandria* occasioned its ruin; the *Jews* retained their customs; but the *Roman* people, following the *Egyptian* morals, adopted their enmities and prejudices; for the *Romans* had neither the constancy nor steadiness of the *Macedonians*, nor the prudence of the *Greeks* †." However, to do justice to the *Romans*, and in answer to *Appion's* reproach, that the *Jews* did not erect *statues* to the *Roman* Emperors, *Josephus* observes, "so far from being a subject of reproach, it should be matter of praise, that the *Romans*, having conquered us, did not oblige us to desert the laws of our country, but accepted such honours as can be piously and lawfully offered. We

* *Josephus*, p. 1369.

† Contrast with *Carthaginians*, *Polyb.* lib. x. 33.

make sacrifices for the *Roman* Emperors and the *Roman* people at the public expence, though, for any of our nation, we do not offer victims *."

The destruction of the *Alexandrian* library fifteen years after *Syria* became a *Roman* province, was a serious loss to literature; and its second conflagration, 688 years afterward, will always be considered as irreparable: but, exclusive of the erudition enveloped in the *Sanscrit*, we may even yet hope to regain, by judicious researches in the *East*, many regretted works of enlightened periods.

Notwithstanding *Mahomed*, about A. D. 612, conciliated the *Christians* from policy, he affected to be the ignorant prophet† among the tribes of *Arabs* whom he converted. There was a species of poetry peculiar to these people, yet *Omar* destroyed without remorse every vestige of

* *Josephus*, page 1368.

† The untaught Prophet, ignorant as he came from his mother: *Koran Sura. 7.*

learning and philosophy to cover the imposture; when solicited to spare the library of *Alexandria*, he said, if these writings are contrary to the doctrines of the *Koran* they are heretical, and ought to be burned; if they correspond with it they are superfluous, and he consigned them to fire.

Letters continued to suffer persecution after the *Mahomedan* government became monarchical and the family of *Ommiyah* prevailed; but when the *Abbasids* dethroned them, and distinguished themselves by the black garment, the *Fatamites* retained the white vest, and esteemed them heretics. Even in the reign of the *Abbasid Kalifs*, A. D. 780, great respect was paid to learned *Christians* who were skilled in the *Arabesque*, and to the *Arabs* who were versed in the old poets before *Mahomed*. One of the ancient bards is said to have been able to repeat 100,000 verses*: and the learned *Renaudot* says, the rules by which they were made, are as hard as the *Greek* and *Latin*, which they seem un-

* *Jasar*, son of *Abdullah*, ob. A. D. 384. *Abulfeda*, Hist. *Ægypt*.

acquainted with *; and the *Abbasid* race of *Kalifs* ordered most of the *Greek* books to be translated into *Arabic*, the benefit of which was not limited to the *Arabs*. The *Jews* of *Spain* in general knew *Arabic*, and many astronomical books were translated into *Hebrew*. The *Ilakanian* tables, ordered to be made by *Ulug Beig* at *Samarcund*, shew also the degree in which the *Mahomedan Tartars* had benefited: certain it is, that we had no astronomical tables in *Europe* before those which *Alfonzo*, King of *Castile* and *Leon*, ordered to be drawn up in the year 1270, for which he employed some learned *Jews* †. And when we consider that *Edward I.*, the *English Justinian*, regulated the *English* standards of length and weight on *Eastern* precedent, having served in the wars of the *East*, the adoption of the *Eastern* standards in *England* is more probably at first hand, than in imitation of the *Castalian*, when he visited *Spain*, ‡. The policy of encouraging agri-

* Dissertation on the Accounts of *India* and *China* of two *Mahomedan* Travellers in the 9th century, p. 255.

† Ibid. p. 222.

‡ Bishop *Hooper's* Inquiry into ancient Measures, p. 16.

culture seems to have been impressed on *St. Louis* of *France*; for on his return from the Holy Land, to repair the misfortunes occasioned to his country by his absence, he ordained that no interruption should be given to the exportation of corn, wine, &c.* an ordinance infinitely more wise and adequate to its object than those of subsequent reigns. The calculations of *M. Vauban* supposed the extent of *France* 30,000 square leagues, and the cultivated land 10,000 square leagues, of which 7,500 in grain, each producing 2,625 *septiers*†, for bread, seed corn deducted, would feed 31,240,000 inhabitants, at three *septiers* † to each person: later calculations state that, in 1621, *French* corn, in price and quality, defied competition in the *English* market, and was sold in *France* at eighteen livres, present money; and the produce then is estimated to have been seventy millions of *septiers*; and the population of *France* also to have been infinitely greater than at present. The actual produce of

* Ordinance, Dec. 1254.

† *Septier*, equal to 240 pounds weight.

grain in *France* is estimated at forty-five millions* of *Septiers* at 17 liv. 8 sols; and the period of 1748, 9, and 50, during which *France* imported from *England*, on an average, 1,400 *muids* † each year, the amount compared to the consumption was considered as a drop of water in a pond ‡; therefore, injudicious regulation, anarchy, or central commotions, which interrupt the cultivation of *France*, and its free internal circulation, will distress them more than surrounding warfare. The wise regulation of *Great Britain* to open and shut its ports when grain rises or falls in the market to fair specified prices, ensures free sale and reasonable profit in the seasons of greatest abundance, which has, and, I hope, will long counteract the unreasonable speculation of theorists, who require that grain should recompence the husbandman, by an advance of price in proportion as the articles of luxury rise by the influx of riches, without taking to account that the

* Encyclopedie, dernier edition, art. *Bled*.

† One *Muid*, equal to twelve *septiers*.

‡ *Essais sur la Police des Grains*.

exclusion of foreign corn, beyond a rule of indispensable policy and necessity, would annihilate the reciprocity essential to commerce, and would reduce the cultivation of the country to its consumption, and occasion the extremes of fluctuation in price; very low prices with abundant crops, and very high prices with bad crops, which never can produce an average favourable to agriculture. We know that the riches of *Lydia* and *Persia* did not vary the standard prices of corn; when the *Romans* were at the extent of their excesses of folly and extravagance corn was very cheap*. The riches of *Delhi*, which enabled *Nadir Shah* to carry away 120 millions sterling, did not raise the price of grain in the *Bengal* provinces; and humanity dictates the same policy for *British India*: for whenever riches, bad administration, warfare, or over-grown manufactures of luxury from foreign materials, do not leave hands and capital for the cultivation of land, they check agriculture and national industry; and by whatever means industry diminishes,

* *Tacitus*, Ann. lib. 15.

population will decrease, and the prices of provisions must rise in a proportional degree. The story of *Pythopolis**, the *Ly-dian*, might instruct the modern nations, whose idleness begets poverty among ship loads of specie; therefore, as in the eleventh and twelfth century we ourselves were confirmed in sound policy, from the gleanings of Eastern policy and literature, as the *Romans*, *Grecians*, and the people of *Israel* had been before us, we ought not to hesitate in admitting that the experience and system of the *Hindoos* is best suited to their own internal government. If we must indulge in theory, with much safety we might suggest a serious hope, that the result of a judicious settlement of *India* may become an equitable rule of collecting the dues of the *English* Church, without violating its rights, property, or prejudices; for if, according to the just principle of *Akbar*, *Hindoo* collections are made on a ten-years settlement, the *corn rent*, as established by some college leases, on similar principle, being made general throughout

* *Polyaeni* Stratag. lib. 8, c. 42.

England and Wales, with a stipulation that either the church or the parish shall have the right to demand a fresh valuation and agreement every fourteen or twenty-one years; the church might be enabled to ascertain its income, and make the best application and distribution of its funds for the advancement of religion, morality, and learning, without farther encroaching on lay lands, by extending the operation of Queen *Anne's* bounty; consequently, not only every jealousy of the church, but the ever existing temporal dissensions, leading to spiritual schism, which alienate the clergy from their parishoners, would vanish. I cannot give a better illustration of the excellence of native *Hindoo* management, than by annexing two tables of village accounts, which Colonel *John Murray* obligingly transmitted to me from *India* five years ago; the additional columns are of his suggestion, to shew how easily an official return might be made of the actual produce and population of the whole of *British India*, only by establishing confidence, and by taking advantage of forms now in use in the villages of the *Hindoos*.

CHAP. XXI.

On the Use and Abuse of Precedent.

HAVING enlarged on the component parts of *British India* under different systems of administration, it may be expected that I should connect the various deductions into a new and perfect system; I professed only to give an analysis, and if the component parts are truly stated, system will arise from them, instead of the established order of society being subverted to adapt them to system; for it would be impossible to connect in one system, the ideal perfection of *Plato* and the practical cruelty of *Aurengzebe*.

In the instance of *British India*, the opinions of *Great Britain*, by almost general consent, have been led to the feudal system as a precedent; I shall, therefore, only state the necessity of caution in adopting precedent, either for controlling the *civil* or *religious* opinions of the natives.

Dr. *Robertson*, after having given way to the doctrines of Mr. *Rousse*, concurred in the accepted opinion; and says, “ I imagine that the state of landed property in *India* might be greatly illustrated by an accurate comparison of it with the nature of feudal tenures; and I apprehend that there might be traced there, a succession of changes taking place, much in the same order as has been observed in *Europe*, from which it might appear that the possession of land was granted at first during pleasure, afterwards for life, and at length became perpetual and hereditary: but even after this last form, when land is acquired by purchase or inheritance, the manner in which the right of property is confirmed and rendered complete, in *Europe* by charter, in *India* by a *Sunnud* from the Sovereign, seems to point out what was its original state*.”

It certainly would be very desirable to trace a rule of wise administration from precedent, but, unfortunately, opinions

* *Historical Disquisition*, p. 346.

have been so unfaithfully recorded, no policy has necessarily been so much accommodated to prejudices and local circumstances, or corruptly to speculation and avarice, that it is very difficult from any admitted facts to deduce certain principles; and where such latitude of construction exists, the same precedent may be suited to opposite systems: I have not found one among the writings published in *Europe*. I have already quoted from *Agricola's* letters, which contain much useful local information stated to *Europeans* resident at *Calcutta*; but cannot follow implicitly that author, who appears to despair of a perfect system, and to be ready to dispense with fundamental principles, to obtain common justice and honesty under any modification of defective system. I can assent to *Agricola's* opinion of the *Mocurrery* plan, but I cannot say to the *East-India* Company *, “ in the course of my different letters, my opinion in regard to landed property may be pretty clearly inferred; however, I have no objection to subscribe to the idea that

* *Agricola*, Letter 43, p. 290.

the *Zemindars* are the proprietors of the soil, instead of renters, and confess it gave me no small satisfaction to find them publicly acknowledged as such, naturally concluding that it was a prelude to their being treated as such ; but how shall I express my surprise to see this act of generosity, for on the present occasion I cannot call it policy, made an instrument of oppression, unheard of in any country*." I am also obliged to dissent from *Agricola's* political view of the system continued by the present act. The government of a company by a Board of Control and Parliament, he considers a pernicious and destructive ministerial government ; whereas, in my opinion, it is the only practicable mode of rendering the control of Parliament effective ; for commercial disputes by the act are to be settled between the Board and the Company, by the privy Council ; but Parliament must decide on the political measures of the administration : some proprietors, it is true, may assume sham consequence, and propose resolutions to attract

* *Agricola*, Letter 25, p. 208.

popularity, but the interest of the public and of the Company will not be sacrificed by the Board of Control according to the caprice of a faction of proprietors, so long as the *political* establishments are accounted for by the Minister to Parliament, not to the Proprietors.

Another difficulty occurred, as to the best mode of diffusing among the inhabitants of *British India* a knowledge of our intentions, and the necessary intercourse with the various people included in our empire.

The disputes on this subject need not be very long; a certain number of *English* must learn the language of *India*, or all the natives must learn *English*.

Justinian published in *Greek* because it was the most generally understood language*, and is a much better rule or

* *Nostra constitutio quam pro omne natione Græca lingua composuimus. Justin. Instit. lib. 3, tit. viii, 3.*

Græca leguntur in omnibus fere gentibus, Latina suis finibus exiguis sane continentur. Cic. Orat. pro Arch.

precedent than Mr. *Francis's* serious recommendation of obliging the natives of *India* to learn *English*; “every man then would be able to speak for himself, and every complaint would be understood* ; which opinion he supports by a reference to *Fortescue*, also quoted by *Hume* †. “*Consimiliter Gallici post eorum adventum in Angliam, ratiocenia de eorum provenientibus non recipiunt nisi in proprio idiomate, ne ipsi inde deciperentur* ‡.”

By some observations on this proposed precedent from the *English* history, I will justify my opinion of the importance of a judicious selection, if we must at all events act on precedent.

“King *William* established a covenant with the people of *Kent* to be received as their *liege lord*, and the people of *Kent* enjoy their ancient liberties, and for evermore enjoy the laws and customs of the

* Letter from Mr. *Francis* to Lord *North*. *Debrett*, 1793, p. 49.

† *Hume*, *Hist. of England*, Vol. I. p. 284.

‡ *Fortescue*, cap. 48.

country ; the rest of *England* submitted to *Bondage**." And, on the attempt to oblige a conquered country to learn the language of the conqueror, the same Chronicle observes, " here, by the waie, I give you to note a great absurditie, namelie, that those laws which touched all were, notwithstanding, written in the *Norman* toong, which the *Englishmen* understand not ; so that even at the beginning you would have great numbers, partlie by the iniquitie of the laws, and partlie by ignorance in misconstruing the same, to be wrongfullie condemned, some to death, and some in the forfeitures of their goods ; others were so entangled in suites and causes, that by no means they knew how to get out, but continually were tossed from post to pillar, in such wise, that in their minds they cursed the time that ever such unequal laws were made †." I am sorry Mr. *Francis* should select from this period of the *English* History the only severe mark of conquest, by which *William* the Conqueror was under

* *Hollingshed's Chronicle*, anno 1067.

† *Ibid.* Vol. III. page 8.

the necessity of extending the foundation of his own power, and of the liberty we now enjoy.

Alfred in the beginning of his reign had scarcely the hope of recovering his kingdom. The conversion of the *Danes* to Christianity rendered them valuable subjects; the *code* which *Alfred* composed, was called the *West Saxon Lage*. "The ravages of the *Danes* had ruined the commonwealth of learning, and frightened the muses out of the island. This barbarous enemy seemed to proclaim war against sense and understanding: they hated to see the *English* better polished than themselves; and, as they plundered the monasteries out of covetousness, so they burnt the libraries out of envy, that there might be nothing remaining to reproach their ignorance*." When united by Christianity, they obtained indiscriminate privilege. The Ministers of Religion, both among the Pagan and Christian *Saxons*, were exempt from all military service, and forbidden the use

* *Collier's Eccles. Hist. of England*, Vol. I. p. 165.

of arms. The Pagan *Northumbrians* imagined their High Priest, *Coefi*, was become mad when they beheld him riding on a horse with a spear in his hand, like a Secular *Thane*; “because they knew it was not lawful for a priest to bear arms, or ride upon a horse *.” In 627 he overturned the great temple at *Godmundham* near *York*, and embraced Christianity †. After the battle of *Egginton*, A. D. 878, in which *Alfred* defeated the *Danes*, he assigned them lands in *East Anglia* and *Northumberland* on their embracing Christianity, and made it their interest to defend the country they came to plunder ‡; and thereby obtained accession of ships and sailors, with which he fought, with different success, against other *Danish* fleets §. The lands granted by the King and others to the church, were subject to military services as other lands, which

* *Beda* Hist. lib. c. 13.

† *Ibid.* lib. 2. c. 10.

‡ *W. Malmsh.* lib. 2. c. 4.

§ *Affer*, p. 9.

the clergy performed by their *ceorls*, or free tenants *.

Edward the elder enforced the regulations of *Alfred*; “Omnibus qui reipublicæ præsumt, etiam atque etiam mando ut omnibus æquos se præbeant judices perinde ac in judiciali libro (Saxonice Doom-bec) scriptum habetur, nec quicquam formident, quin jus commune audacter libereque dicant.”

Edward the Confessor was called from his asylum in *Normandy*, after another *Danish* invasion and conquest had introduced foreign customs, and defaced the polity of the *West-Saxon* law. *Alfred* therefore has properly been denominated the *Institutor*, and *Edward* the Confessor the *Restitutor Legum*. His code was formed for the southern provinces of *England*; but the northern provinces continued under a different Government †. He combined with *Alfred*’s code, or the *West-Saxon Lage*,

* Reliquiæ Spelman, p. 19. Vide *Henry*’s History of England.

† *Blackstone* Comment, *Hale* Hist. 55.

the *Dane Lage* and the *Merceen Lage*, consequently the old *British* customs bore their proportion of weight, and “ the provincial polity of counties and their subdivisions, have never been altered or discontinued, through all the shocks and mutations of government, from the time of its first institution ; though the laws and customs therein used, have often suffered considerable change.*”

William the *Norman* took a Coronation oath to govern his subjects with clemency and justice, and to treat the *English* as *Normans* ; and he proceeded to reduce to obedience the *Northern* provinces, and thereby made *England* in fact one kingdom, under the same law. *Ingulphus*†, who lived at his court, says, he required *charters* to be signed and sealed in wax as well as witnessed, instead of the *English Saxon* custom of setting the figure of a cross, or some religious emblem of the name of *Christ* ; in effect it disallowed the incroachments of the Church

* Blackstone, Vol IV, p. 405.

† Ingulphi Hittor. p. 70.

and their pretensions to exemptions ; their lands wereregistered, under the tenure of Knights service, andentered on a roll with the other lands of the kingdom. It is stated,* that in the twentieth year of his reign, King *William* convened the great men and landholders to do homage ; by his inquest, he had ascertained the occupants and value of the lands in *Edward* the Confessor's time, and their value when granted by his *charters*, and at the period of the Doomsday book. That roll of " Ecclesiastical servitude," as *M. Paris* calls it, begun in A. D. 1008, and finished in 1086, —for ages—" *Sigilli regis comes fuit individuus in thesauro,*" is now in the Chapterhouse at *Westminster*, and was lately printed. This I believe is a true description of that important record. In discussions before Parliament, it was stated with equal probability, that the customary of *Normandy* was introduced into *Normandy* from *England* by *Henry I.* when he conquered his brother *Robert* ; therefore, says *Witlock*, it is not sur-

* Sir *William Martin*'s introduction to the Law of Tenures.

prising that the *English* and *Norman* Code should be found to correspond, and their origin be disputed*. King *William* promised the *Bishop* and *Portreve* of *London*, in the *Saxon* tongue†, to preserve the Laws of *Edward*, and the property of those who were good subjects; and *Holingshed* further observes, that King *William* “brought to pass, that the countrie was so rid of thieves and robbers, as at length a maid might have passed through the land

* *Whitlock's* Memorial, November, 1650.

† *Williem King* grets *Williem Bisceop* and *Godfred Porterefan*, and eall ya *Burgwurn* binnen *London*, *Fren-cisce*, & *Englise* frendlice, & ic kiden eoy, yeet ic wille yeet get ben ealra weera lagayweord, ye get weeran on *Eadwerds* daege Kings. And ic will yeet aelc child by his fader yrfrume, aester his'faders daege, and ic nelle ge wolian, yeet aenig, man eoy aenis wrang beode God eoy heald.

Wilhelmum Rex salutatur *Wilhelmum Episcopum* et *Gof-fridum Portegresum*, et omnen *Burghware* infra *London*, *Frans.* et *Angl.* amicabiliter, et vobis notum facio quod ego volo quod vos sitis omni lege illa digni qua fuistis *Edwardi* diebus regis, et volo quod omnis puer sit patris sui hæres post diem patris sui, et ego nolo pati quod aliquis homo aliquam injuriam vobis inferat. Deus vos salvet. *Holingshed* Chronicle.

with a bag of gold* and not have met with any misdoer to have bereft her of the same, a thing so strange to consider, sith in the beginning of his reign there were such routs of outlaws and robbers, that the peaceabler people could not be safely possessed of their own houses, were the same never so well fortified and defended †;” and to the honour of the *Normans*, during their brilliant career of two centuries, in *France*, *Italy*, *Sicily*†, and the *East*, their valour was softened by justice,

In this manner King *William* made a barrier against Papal encroachments, and in a subsequent period the Barons, the Aristocracy of this Country, prevented the Crown from being tempted by temporal dominion, to submit to spiritual servitude.

* *J. Rous.*

† *Holinghed. Chron. p. 17,*

‡ *Leges et justiciæ cultus tempore Gulielmi secundi vigeat in regno ; sua erat quilibet forte contentus ; ubique pax, ubique securitas, nec latronum metuabat viator insidias, nec maris nauta offendicula piratarum.*

Hist. Sicul. Hugo Falcondus, Muratori Collect.

Pope Innocent the Fourth had offered the kingdom of *Sicily* to *Richard* Earl of *Cornwal*, third Brother to King *Henry* the third, which he refused; and it was then offered to *Henry* the Third, who would not engage in war to depose his Nephew, son of the late Emperor *Frederick*; but when Emperor *Conrade* had put the young *Henry* to death, and seized on *Sicily*, the offer was again made to *Henry* the Third, who accepted it for his son *Edmund*: the *Pope* died, and his successor was defeated by *Manfred*, who was crowned King of the two *Sicilies*; notwithstanding which, *Henry* accepted the title for his son, who was invested in *London*, A. D. 1255. The King was obliged to apply to Parliament, and the Parliament refusing its aid, the King by his Proclamation, and *Pope* by his Bull, enforced the exactions on the laity and clergy of *England*: Parliament again refused, and the King adjourned the Parliament to *Oxford*, where he agreed to the six Articles, called the Provisions or Statutes of *Oxford*, from which he was absolved by *Pope Urban* the Fourth; the Barons then took arms and made the King prisoner,

and writs were issued in the King's name by *Simon Montford*, Earl of *Leicester* ; the writs to the Sheriff were *general*, to send two Knights for every Shire ; since which period, the right of Citizens and Burgeses to sit in Parliament has never been questioned, though the Commons were not regularly summoned for many years after. In 1265, *Pope Urban* revoked the grant of *Sicily* to Prince *Edmund*, and his successor granted it to *Charles of Anjou*, brother to *St. Louis*, King of *France* ; and King *Henry*, while in *Leicester's* power, issued a commission in 1265, to renounce the kingdom of *Sicily* in the name of his son *Edmund*. Prince *Edward* defeated *Leicester* and the Barons, at *Evesham*, and the estates of *Leicester*, of *Ferrers* Earl of *Derby*, of *John of Monmouth*, and others were given to Prince *Edmund*, created Earl of *Lancaster*, *Leicester*, *Derby*, and *Champaigne*, which laid the foundation of the greatness of the House of *Lancaster*, thereby increased to such height, that *Henry of Bolingbrook*, too powerful for a subject, deposed his cousin german *Richard* the Second, and ascended the throne, Thus in Prince *Edmund*, were

originally founded the great contentions which so long subsisted between the two houses of *York* and *Lancaster*; and the democratical part of our Constitution acquired a permanent basis.* It was from a due regard to the three orders of the state, that “in the reign of *Edward* the First, styled the *English Justinian* †, the Law did receive so sudden a perfection, that Sir *Matthew Hale* ‡ does not scruple to affirm, that more was done in the first thirteen years of his reign to settle and establish the distributive justice of the kingdom, than in all the ages since that time put together.”

Hence it will appear, that *English* history will afford us instruction, notwithstanding we neglect Mr. *Francis*’s hint of making the natives of *India* learn *English*. It will be easy also to trace in the earliest periods of *English* history, that the *British* considered it an important principle to reject an impe-

* *Archæologia*, Vol. IV. Dissertation of *T. Asple*, Esq.

† *Blackstone*, Vol. IV. B. 4. C. 33. *Hale*. Hist. C. L. 56.

‡ The Statutes of *Population* of *Henry* the Seventh, of *Retainers*, and of *Alienations*, transferred power from the Nobles to the People.

rium in imperio—and yet there are men who hold forth the rude and absurd violence of a *Cade* and a *Tyler*, which our ancestors witnessed with detestation and horror, as laudable examples, and prefer their own comments on the original rights of man, prior to society, to the experience of ages.

The *British* Church so early as A. D. 590, refused to submit to the jurisdiction of *Augustine*, Arch-bishop of *Canterbury**; and when *Edward the Confessor* sent to *Rome*, to induce *Pope Formosus* to withdraw his Bull of Excommunication against the King and his *English* subjects, for neglect of ecclesiastical administration †; the Cornish men, who were *British*, refused to submit, and took no notice of the *Pope's* authority ‡. The direct intercourse which the Sovereigns of *Europe* had with *Palestine*, immediately after the Conquest, tended to confirm this ancient *British* opinion.

* *Collier's Ecclesiast. Hist.* p. 171.

† *William de Malmsh.* and the Register of the Priory of *Canterbury*.

‡ *Spelman. Conf.* Vol I, p. 387, 388.

The first *Kalifs* after *Mahomet* constantly introduced the prayer on Friday with a *Cotbat* or sermon. When the *Kalifs*, having acquired power to combine their sectaries by absolute monarchy, and laid aside preaching in person, the *Imams* concluded the *Cotbat* with a prayer for the *Kalif*; hence the person in whose name the *Cotbat* was delivered was acknowledged Supreme.

The princes of the families of *Buija*, *Seljukids*, and others who revolted from the *Kalifs*, continued to pay them the honour of the Mosque as head of their Church; whereas the *Fatemites* had the *Cotbat* in their own name, whereby they were called *Hereticks* by the other *Mahomedans*. Thus the *Kalifs* of *Bagdad* became mere cyphers, having only the honour of the Mosque, the right of investitures, and of coining money; the tributary Princes of the orthodox *Mahomedans* consequently had very complicated allegiance. The *Cotbat* first mentioned the *Kalif* out of religion, then the *Sultan* out of duty, as sovereign, and then the Prince himself. The coin bore the *Kalif*'s name on one side, and the *Sultan*'s on the other; under this form all the

Mahomedan Princes in *Messopotamia*, *Syria*, and *Egypt*, reduced their system in 1250, after the death of *Moadzam Turan Shab*, the last of the family of the *Ayubites*, successors of *Saladin*, who was killed by his own people, while *St. Louis*, King of *France*, was in prison ; at which period the *Kalifat* and *Cothat* ceased ; the consequences of which political event King *Edward I.* witnessed in *Palestine*.

The *Turkish* and *Circassian* *Mamluck* *Tartars* revived both nominally, till the death and defeat of *Tumam-bey*, the twenty-third and last *Circassian* *Sultaun*, who was hanged by the order of *Selim*, the Emperor of the *Turks*, in 1515, since which the *Musti* has been established. The fluctuation of *Mahomedan* symbols of sovereignty, marks them to be of little political importance, and of much practical inconvenience. The *Moguls* who conquered *Hindostan* were of the sect of *Omar*, and the principal people who became the chiefs in the *Mogul* Court, and those who came at the *Persian* Invasion, were of the sect of *Ali*, and differed totally in their customs and religion,

from *Hindoos*. I will pursue the observation a little further, to draw another conclusion.

The *Saracens*, who overran *Spain* and *Sicily*, made the first attempt against *Spain* when the King of the *Visigoths* appeared in his greatest power; *Montesquieu* * supposes the rapid disuse of the *Visigoth* Law in *Spain* to be the consequence of ignorance in writing; but it appears to have arisen from more natural causes. The *Visigoth* Kings had abolished not only the written *Roman* Law, but the customary Law of the natives of *Spain* †, and were particularly severe against the *Jews*, who formed a considerable part of the natives, living under the *Roman* Law; a general revolt was the consequence; the *Jews* invited the *Saracens*; and though *Womba* subdued the revolters, he dared not punish them; a few years afterwards the *Saracens* conquered *Spain*, and the kingdom conformed to a customary law.

* Montesquieu Liv. 28, c. xii.

† *Loix des Visigoths*. L. 2. Tit. 1. § 9.

From these, as from numberless examples in the history of mankind, we may know, whenever laws are founded in justice, and applicable to the habits of a civilized society, whether they are written or traditional, they will be remembered with superstitious veneration; and it will always be idle to imagine it possible to establish the *fiction* of any defective government, without realising, in a many-fold degree, all the defects incident to that system for which reason the fiction of hereditary fiefs, with a continuation of the inequality of *freda*, which the plan of settlement of 1776, for *Bengal*, would have established; and the definition of the *Liege Lords* by the the ten-years settlement now existing in *Bengal*, cannot ever produce either feudal dependance, or political dependance; from the same cause that the *Salique* Law had no effect in the second race of *French* Kings, when there was no Common Law because nobody could enforce Common Law; and in the third race the sovereign did not even think it worth while to insert in the Charters his right to superintend the judicature: whatever we

may do in support of the Revenue Laws, during the ten years settlement of 1789*, the reserved rent will operate as the *fredum* to the *Zemindar*; and the *freda* to the tenantry being arbitrary, and in no degree defined or controled, but depending on the caprice of the *Zemindar*, the whole body of tenantry or *Reyuts* must be enslaved. Political fiction therefore ought never to be used by considerate men, except, after the most diligent investigation and inquiry, it shall appear, that the people to be governed are either so ignorant and barbarous, or so profligate from licentiousness and irreligion, that it is impossible, without sacrificing all order and security, to apply to them the rule which Sir *William Temple*, and others†, who do not despise the experience of mankind in society, admit, that “those forms are best which have been longest received and authorized in a nation, by custom or use, and into which the humours and manners of the people run in the most general current.” On the same principle and consideration, the correction of a

* Montesquieu, L. 28, C. 9.

† Polybius. Hist. Lib. 10, § 23.

defective system requires a dispassionate and patient investigation, because all experimental reforms are calamitous to a people, whenever their pressure is neither analogous to their customs, nor defined by written or traditional reason, nor arising from sound policy or real necessity. I sincerely wish that the *British* Courts of Law may be for ever revered in *Great Britain*, where they are adequate to their beneficial objects; and as sincerely I hope that the practice of the *English* Courts may be excluded from *British India*. If a rash experiment of reform had not abolished, a few years ago, the *Board of Trade and Plantations*, which the joint labour of a Committee or Board of Council, and a Board of Agriculture as now constituted, will never replace, I might have referred to its records, to point out the necessity of absolutely defining, in the most minute detail, the instructions to every practitioner of the Courts of *Westminster*, detached to administer the Law of *England*. In the smallest government on the Coast of *Africa*, an instance occurred of one Lawyer, with a Clerk, exhibiting the forms of the various

Courts of *Westminster*, with their relative appeals, and by indefatigable attendance on the suitors, both in and out of Court, made the most of every cause constantly with official precedent of *English* practice ; a ridicule which was of short duration from the representation of that Board ; the chances of similar absurdity must not exist ; but the hopes of checking oppression, may reasonably be expected in *India* from *English* gentlemen, who, on a proper examination, shall be found, by their education and knowledge of the language, to be qualified to superintend a district in *India*, and to act as Justice of the Peace, with a *written Code*, founded on old principles, with respect to the rights and habits of the natives ; for we cannot say at this time more than at any former period, appoint good men, and they will make good Laws ; but give good orders, and they will make good men. If it should be objected that such jurisdiction will resemble our County Courts, I shall only beg precision as to the period at which the precedent is to be taken ; if from the early period when the Earl or Sheriff in *person* presided, and

the Justiciary Courts were ill administered, I shall admit the precedent to be applicable ; but by no means should we make it resemble the modern County Courts, in which any Attorney, as deputy to the Sheriff, officiates in the court, extended by the Writ of *Justicies* to a jurisdiction oppressive beyond the common limited County Courts, and unnecessarily so, since the *Justiciary Courts* are duly administered : the low practice of the Law is the lumber and disgrace of *British* Judicature.

The good fortune of *Great Britain* has urged her to repel innovations ; the old *British* Customs, *Common Law*, dictated by reason, whether derived from *Phœnician* or *Gaulic* polity, has influenced every period of *British* reform, particularly in the twelfth century, when every other part of *Europe* yielded to the *Roman Law*. The ingenuity and art of subsequent attempts to evade it, particularly by misapplying precedents of feudal system, and of *Roman Law*, to establish an ecclesiastical *imperium et imperio*, are concisely and

ably stated by *Blackstone* *, in his Commentaries, in which he does justice to the vigorous and successful defence of the *British* Parliament, which has maintained the independance, and unity of the Constitution. I have stated the proceedings of Parliament, to check the late attempt since our acquisition of territory in *India* by a trading company collectively, and collusively, by individual proprietors or servants, to institute the worst sort of elusion ; this commercial plot, like the former deeper plan of clerical management, proved but a bubble when the eyes of Parliament were opened, and the people set themselves with vigour to oppose it ; “ so vain and ridiculous,” says *Blackstone* †, “ is the attempt to live in society, without acknowledging the obligations which it lays us under, and to affect an entire independance of that Civil State, which protects us in all our Rights, and gives us every other liberty, that only excepted, of despising the Laws of the Community.”

* *Blackstone's* Comment. B. 2. c. 18. B. 4. c. 8.

† ——— Vol. IV. p. 109.

We have infinite obligation to the gentlemen who have devoted their time to the study of the *Sanſcrit*; and the tranſlations of the books preſerved in that ancient language will not prove an unprofitable addition to the hiſtory of mankind and of literature: but we are not to expect a ſubſtitute for the valuable remains of ancient hiſtory which we poſſeſs, but a valuable illuſtration of its moſt obſcure parts. We have not now to learn that mythology is inſtruction conveyed in a tale, on which, if we meditate with the judgement of a *Bacon*, we may learn the *wiſdom* of the *ancients*; but, if we view it through the medium of ignorant prejudice, we ſhall come within the obſervation of a *Hindoo* writer, “ that whoever obſtinately adheres to any ſet of opinions, may bring himſelf to believe the freſheſt ſandal wood is a flame of fire*.” Information from Eaſtern or from Weſtern mythology, connected with hiſtory, will ſhew that it has been often miſunderſtood and miſapplied, but not in a greater degree than eloquence and

• *Aſiatic Reſearches*, Vol. I. p. 224.

poetic fiction to ridicule virtue and religion, the bulwarks of a free nation, or to direct the daggers of sedition to lacerate the vitals of the constitution, and the bonds of social habits. I cannot assume other pretensions, than arise from a patient investigation of the proceedings of *British* administration, and from their own statements, to make conclusions apparent, which are smothered in the voluminous bulk of *Indian* records; and however imperfect my practical application may be, it will, I hope, have a better chance of being dispassionately reviewed, from my having steered clear of all party and personal considerations,—literally in the degree I had prescribed to myself, never having seen the alarming extent of the work together, until its detached parts returned from the press; and I regret, on account of the natives of *India* and of this country, that the *brullion* and the impression require much correction of the indulgent reader: without quitting the humble station of a fellow labourer, I venture even to guide, when, from experiencing the defects of informa-

tion, I solicit in behalf of myself and the public, the farther aid of the learned.

The President of the *Asiatic* Society, whose personal knowledge opens to him a wider field of inquiry than, perhaps, falls to the lot of any of his cotemporaries, has begun his instruction as to the connection of the theology of *Greece, Italy, and India* "without pursuing a very regular method, but took the Gods, of whom he discoursed, as they happened to present themselves*;" and with no other *European* book to refresh his memory of old fables, except the conceited, though not unlearned, *Pomey*, entitled the *Pantheon*†. And on the subject of religion he truly adduces the sad obstacles to the general extension of our pure faith in *Hindostan*, arising from the veneration for *Mahomed* and *Ali*,‡ both extraordinary men; the one as a politic reformer; and the latter as a man of unexceptionable character: and the probability

* Asiatic Researches, Vol. I. p. 225.

† Ibid. Vol. I. p. 224.

‡ Ibid. p. 474.

of the *Hindoos* being readily induced to admit the gospel, though unprofitably, from their belief and conviction that it is perfectly consistent with their *Sastras*, though different in form, and will be equally acceptable if they be sincere in substance*. I shall venture to predict that much substantial illustration will come from that learned and respectable man, whenever his leisure shall enable him to arrange his store of universal knowledge; and he will bring to our view the present real relation of *Christians* to *Mahomedans*. We know that *Mahomed* gave express orders to his captains to conciliate the Christians; and that the *Nestorian* Christians, by their submission, obtained peculiar indulgence; and as *Emir Cond*, in his History of *Ali*, tells us, this *Kalif*, disputing with a Christian Monk, so clearly, from the gospel, convinced him that *Mahomed* was the *Paraclete* or Comforter promised by *Christ*, that the Monk embraced *Mahomedism*†; and the *Nestorian* Christians continued in

* Asiatic Researches. Vol. I, p. 274.

† Dessert. of *Eusebius Renaudot*, p. 171.

high estimation at the court of *Bagdad*, particularly in the reign of *Kalif Almanun*, who employed them in the translation of the ancient *Greek* books into *Arabic**. We also know how differently the *Propaganda* endeavoured to establish their influence in the court of *Akber*, who built a church for the Christians at *Agra*, and granted them privileges, which were confirmed by *Jahan Guir* in 1604.

The work *Xavier*, containing the history of Christ from the legends of the Church of *Rome*, presented in *Persian* to the Emperor, in 1602, was translated and published in *Europe*, in 1639, by *De Dieu*; and the illustration of that work against *Mahomedism*, by another book of *Xavier*, called *the Looking Glass shewing the Truth*, was answered by a *Persian* gentleman, *Abmed Ebn Zin Alabedin*, whose book, called *the Crusher of the Looking Glass*, exposed the idolatry and superstitious errors by which the Jesuits' illustration disfigured the doctrine of Christ †. Subsequent answers

* Dissert. of *Eusebius Renaudot*, p. 111.

† *Prideaux*, the true Nature of Imposture, p. 156.

of the *Propaganda*, drawn from authorities of Popes and Councils, could never convince a *Mahomedan* of the truth of the Christian religion.

As to the *Hindoos*, Sir *William Jones* having particularised *Isaiab*, among the most likely parts of the bible, to influence the opinions of the natives, I venture to state in one observation all that I wish to suggest; because, as we should learn, so should we teach,

The infinite number of allegorical symbols degenerate into mere jugglers' tricks, when separated from the principles to which they belong. If the number of symbols in the most extended polytheism was doubled, they are all reducible to two theories; the one admitting one omnipotent universally pervading principle, the other dividing the principle into two omnipotent and contrary principles of good and evil,

The Book of *Job*, by those who can judge of the original, has been allowed to

be a moral dramatic poem*, addressed to the Jews immediately after they had been led by *Moses* out of *Egypt*; and its object was evidently to refute the doctrine of two principles, then prevalent among the inhabitants of the Land of Promise. It is no improbable expectation that this venerable record may operate conviction on such people as are described in *Sacontala*; for the *Bramins* in that drama correspond with the account *Clearchus* gave of his master *Aristotle's* opinion of the Jews, whose origin he traced from the philosophers of *India*, called *Celanoi*; the remarkable circumstances of whose diet and chastity † distinguished the *Essenes*, the only one of the three sects of Jews against whom the *Messiah* did not utter one reproach, when he “ resisted with equal firmness the haughty scepticism of the *Sadducees*, and the abject superstition of the *Pharisees*.”

We are told, in ancient times, if a Jew landed in *Cyprus* he would have been killed: it is not from a Jew we would ex-

* *Wesley* in *Jobum* Dissert. 3.

† *Josephus*, p. 1347.

pect a fair representation of the religion of *Cyprus*. In the same manner I can suppose existing rancour from opposite doctrines moderated by the Bramahical system into toleration, though I do not see any traces of such information in the Asiatic Researches; and should Mr. *La Flotte* have adopted errors from the manuscript compiled by order of Monsr. *Porcher*, Governor of *Karical*, which was brought to *Pondicherry*, in 1767, they remain to be disproved; I must adopt the facts which he witnessed every day in the neighbourhood of *Pondicherry*, as to the extreme difference in worship and opinion between the disciples of *Siva* and the disciples of *Visbnu**, and the extensive worship of *Lingam*, connected with the worship of *Routren*, in the southern peninsula of *India*. And when I see, in the preface to the Revenue Regulations of *Tippoo*, that no person in *Calcutta* was acquainted with the *Telinga*, or *Mala-bar* dialect, it will shew how little qualified we are, as yet, to decide on the history,

* *Essais Histor. de l'Inde* par M. *La Flotte*. Paris, 1769.

religion, and customs of the natives. In tracing theories, we should not forget that the trade through the centre of *India* was carried on by Christian *Armenians*, at least since the period of *Akbar*; and that the Jews and Arabs, from very remote and early periods, have been favoured on the coasts of *Malabar* and the southern peninsula of *India*, and carried on trade by sea to *China**: we must, therefore, not limit our inquiry to one sect, nor adopt one severe rule of selection, for we may expect instruction both from the *Hindoss* and from the *Mahomedans*.

“ Time was,” says a sagacious *Rabbi* †, “ when the whole earth was covered with blindness and error, some few of the *Patriarchs* only excepted. One nation said there was no *first cause*, nor any part of the universe that could with greater propriety call itself a creature than a creator,

* Account of two *Mahomedan* Travellers, illustrated by *Ensebins Renandot*.

† *Rabbi Juda*, the *Levite*, author of the excellent dialogue inscribed *Cazary*, quoted in the letters concerning Mythology, p. 391.

since the whole was *eternal*: another said, the *Empyreum*, or celestial sphere, was eternal, the author of all things; and adored it accordingly: a third believed that *fire* was the substance and cause of light, and of the stupendous productions we see in the world, for which they adored it, and said the *soul* too was *fire*: others, and the greater part, worshiped the *sun*, the *moon*, the *planets*, and the figures of *animals* formed in likeness to those in the Zodiac: others worshiped their *Princes*, or their wise men; and all agreed, that it was impossible for any thing in the world to swerve from the course of nature.

“ Things continued in this state until the *philosophers*, men of a fine subtle wit and profound meditation, discovered and confessed that there must be a *first cause*, *almighty* and *supreme*, whom no created being can resemble; but they erred in the progress of their reasoning, saying, that though *God* created, he does not now operate in the world in general, much less in individuals, nor direct particular events, which they thought too mean to fall under

the cognizance of so exalted a being, especially as he never innovates, nor alters their original nature."

So far, both a Jew and a Christian can agree; and though the Jew may incline not to extend his observation beyond the period of *Epicurus*, a Christian will readily admit that it is the orbit traced by the human mind; and as "the power arising from strength is always in those that are governed, who are many; but authority arising from opinion is in those that govern, who are few*," it is a most important consideration to revere that sound philosophy which has preserved to this country its ancient simplicity in belief and worship; and while we stand firmly against infidelity and licentiousness, to guard against the mixture of superstition with theology, "a folly the rather to be restrained, because from the unwholesome mixture of things, human and divine, arises not only a fantastic philosophy, but an heretical religion; 'tis therefore the most salutary method to

* *Sir William Temple.*

apply *Faith only in matters that to Faith belong* *."

Previous to the light of the *gospel*, mankind was led to their spiritual good by their temporal interest. When *Jeremiah* upbraided the people of *Israel*, it was for their folly and ingratitude: "Hath any nation changed their gods which yet are no gods? but my people have changed their glory for that which doth not profit." In process of time the most plain and interesting parts of the law were obscured, *weighty matters* were glossed over by trivial ceremonials, in a degree that "made the word of *God* of none effect through their traditions †:" then the words of *Isaiab* alone might have disposed men to abate their pride when they looked for a *Messiah*. "He shall grow up as a tender plant, and as a root out of a dry ground; he hath no form or comeliness; and when we shall see him, there is no beauty that we should desire him: he is despised and rejected of

* *Bacon*, Nov. Organ. Aphor. 65.

† *Matthew*, chap. vii. ver. 13.

men; a man of sorrows, and acquainted with grief; and we hid, as it were, our faces from him: he was despised, and we esteemed him not*." Truly has a learned writer said, that the clergy of the church of *England* "more especially have asserted, with growing confidence, her superiority over all other establishments; she has been enabled to resist the unkind and unfair assaults that have been made against her doctrines; she has seen in her friends a constant increase of sound knowledge, which ever draws onwards in its train an increase of good morals." The comparison of *Mahomedism* and *Christianity*, in their history, their evidence, and their effects †, may be adduced among the proofs that the children of wisdom render essential service to religion; and while "they search all things, they hold fast that which is good;" it glances at the influence of superstition over the *Pagan* world, "and both elucidates and justifies the biographical form in

* *Isaiah*, chap. 53, ver. 23.

† Sermons at the *Bampton Lecture*, by J. White, Professor of *Arabic*, p. 206.

which revelation is conveyed to us : God, it is true, might have made known to us his will by a series of laws, by abstract reasonings, by short instructive sentences, by copious and regular systems, or by any of the various modes of human composition ; but Christianity aims at a nobler end, and pursues it by the most proper and efficacious methods. We read, indeed, the opinions and belief of *Socrates*, and the commands and promises of *Mahomet*, but by *Jesus Christ*, virtue, in every kind and in every degree, is exemplified as well as taught : he is the pattern as well as the teacher of the duties we are to perform ; his precepts shew us what we ought to practise ; his conduct convinces us that it is practicable, and the rewards which he has offered are powerful incentives to us to practise it, from the best motives, and in the best manner. His resurrection from the grave confirms our faith ; his ascension to glory animates our hopes ; the actions of his life, and the circumstances of his death, enlarge and invigorate our charity : by these means all the parts of Christianity, form one great and consistent whole,

every moral rule is realised, and becomes a proof of religious truth, while every religious truth, in its turn, illustrates and enforces every moral rule. The actions of God himself are indeed invisible; those of men are imperfect; but the actions of *Christ* (considered in his human character) are both visible and perfect; they are level to our apprehensions, and most worthy our imitation. Religion is thus made intelligible to all, because all are bound to obey it; it is accompanied by a species of demonstration which the meanest cannot misunderstand; it is recommended by such an instance of its beauty and its usefulness, as is calculated to remove every scruple and to silence every objection."

The researches of another learned divine *, have tended to encourage those who are insensible to the use of history, to know " that one of the noblest uses which can be made of Christian antiquities would be, to learn wisdom and moderation from

* Preface to *Jortin's* Remarks on Ecclesiastical History.

the faults, indiscretions, and follies ; and from the prudence, charity, and piety of our predeceffors, to observe carefully what was good and what was blameable in remoter ages ; and thence to improve ourselves, as we are a Christian nation, by removing the blemishes and defects from which, perhaps, we are not free ; and by adopting every thing commendable which we may have neglected : a Christian society, formed upon such a plan, would not altogether answer the fair and bright idea which the imagination represents, because perfection dwells not here below, and some bad materials must of necessity enter into the human structure ; but it would be more than a faint copy and image of that church which the beloved disciple had the pleasure to see “ coming down from heaven, prepared as a bride adorned by her husband, who had no need of the sun, neither of the moon to shine on it, for the glory of God did enlighten it, and the lamb was the light thereof* :” for this excellent end and purpose the Divine Pro-

* Revelations, chap. xx.

vidence seems to have preserved ecclesiastical records, and has commanded devouring time to respect them, that posterity might receive instruction from those venerable and silent monitors, and not want examples to shun and to follow." When Dr. *Jortin* published his remarks in 1751, having taken notice of the proposal of *Plotinus* to the Emperor *Gallienus*, as *Porphyry* relates, to rebuild a ruined city in *Campania* for philosophers, intending to dwell there himself, and to establish *Plato's* republic, he observed that a republic of modern deists and moral philosophers would be a great curiosity; but when he adverted to the last stage of infidelity, and of the argument of *Bayle*, that an atheist is preferable to an idolater, by which *Montesquieu* says he meant, it would be less dangerous to have no religion at all than a bad one, he remarked, that the polity incident to such irreligion must be looked for and viewed in the poets. The *Cyclops* of *Homer* were without religion, obedience, civility, or respect to each other; they ruled their wives and children as they thought fit, and destroyed all stragglers that fell in

their hands* : little did that learned author imagine that *Bayle's* infidelity was to be surpassed, and that the incorrectness of a *French* translator in the title of a treatise of *Philo Judæus*, *omnis bonus, liber est ; tout livre est bon*, which had excited a smile of contempt, should be superstitiously adopted by his countrymen, and even by *English* tavern friends to the liberty of the press, who endanger its real liberty by encouraging its licentiousness : but it is a pity that men of eminent talents should not remember an old saying, “ that a scorner seeketh wisdom and finds it not † ; ” aptly applied by another eminent divine ‡ when he pointed out the errors in history and chronology by which Lord *Bolingbroke* supported his flippant remarks on the scriptures : his Lordship's own words in the famous dissertation on parties atone for his error, by the most direct and just condemnation of similar conduct.

* *Odyſſey*, v. 273,

† *Proverbs*, chap. xiv, ver. 6.

‡ *Newton* on the Prophecies, p. 34.

“ Some men there are the pests of society, I think them, who pretend a great regard to religion in general, but who take every opportunity of declaiming publicly against that system of religion, or at least against that church establishment which is received in *Britain*, that they are incessant in their endeavours to puzzle the plainest thing in the world, and to refine and distinguish away the life and strength of our constitution in favour of the little, present, momentary turns, which they are retained to serve. What now would be the consequence if all these endeavours should succeed? I am persuaded that the great philosophers, divines, lawyers, and politicians who exert them, have not yet prepared and agreed upon the plans of a new religion, and of new constitutions in church and state; we should find ourselves therefore without any form of religion, or civil government; the first set of missionaries would take off the restraints of religion from the governed, and the latter would soon remove, or render ineffectual, all the limitations and controls which liberty hath prescribed to those that govern, and disjoint

the whole frame of our constitution ; entire dissolution of manners, confusion, anarchy, or, perhaps, *absolute monarchy*, would follow ; for it is possible, nay *probable*, that amidst such a rout of lawless savages, men would chuse that government, absurd as it is, rather than have no government at all *."

These comments may appear foreign to the subject of *British India* ; they are, however, in my opinion, necessary to be remembered by those who legislate, and by those who meditate on the law to be prescribed to *British India* ; they are congenial to the *British* character, because the established religion, and the established law of *England*, have the peculiar blessing of being in unison with the true principles of Christianity, in a degree beyond other Christian nations, whose law partakes more of the rigour of the *Roman* law † ; its influence appears in the discrimination which this nation has shewn on the disastrous

* *Bolingbroke's* Dissertation on Parties.

† *Leges Romanæ duriores erant quam lenitas Christiana patiatur.* Grot. de Jure Belli. l. 1. 11. sec. 4.

crisis of the *French* monarchy, by receiving as brethren those only who are respectable, by suffering poverty and banishment for conscience sake, and whose age and infirmity render them unable to resist by arms the new system of tyranny and irreligion: the patriarchal dignity of the Bishop *St. Pol de Leon*, and the correct life and deportment of the proscribed clergy, must, to a reflecting mind, quicken its sensibility for the millions of well-disposed inhabitants of *France* who are sacrificed by unexampled assassination essential to the introduction of the new system; but must not the same reflection excite a degree of honest indignation against those who know the means by which society has been unhinged, property violated, and religion destroyed, and reconcile it to their honour and their conscience to excite a savage lawless democracy* and inordination to outstretch the indulgence of the law by systematic violation of its principles, and to weaken the energy necessary in the moment, by the same management which weakened the

* *Δυστοκρατία δι' ἑσπέρους καὶ χρεοκράτους.* Polyb. Hist. p. 638.

executive force of *Great Britain* in the last war, on a then less questionable principle of diffusing *real* liberty; for no man can be so uninformed as not to know, that not only the liberty of *Europe*, but the liberty of *America*, the influence of religion, the security of property, and the happiness of the present and future generations are equally involved in the present cause, which, if not successfully opposed, will have worse consequences than when the irruption of the northern hordes

“ of lost mankind,
Drove martial horde on horde with dreadful sweep,
And gave the vanquish'd world another form*.”

The public opinion and the law of the land being in unison, the measures of desperate men appear to be peculiarly and dangerously regulated by legal subtlety and political advice, now tortured to mislead and confound public opinion; the following will shew plainly their plan, when they think caution less necessary. In a letter I received from *India*, dated March, 1793, is the following passage:

* *Thomson.*

“ There is such a rapid succession of revolutions in *France* that there is no following them with conjectures ; they are now, as a republic, more in union with their principles than when they retained a King ; the violences which are perpetrated by their mob, who are clearly only instruments in the hands of vicious, worthless men, excite horror and detestation. You would scarcely suppose that any of the seditious men you have at home, would be industrious enough to send any of the infernal seeds to this country ; but certain it is, that a Mr. *Cooper*, I believe, of *Manchester*, has written a most extraordinary letter to Mr. * * * *, one of our chaplains, wherein he expresses, in the plainest terms, his satisfaction that religion of every denomination is scouted in *France*, and his hope that it will very soon be totally abolished throughout the world ; he seems to look with pleasure to the decapitation of the King and “ eke his Queen ; ” he says that he has written a book against monarchy and Kings, from which he expects to derive reputation as a writer : I wish that gentleman was sent to *Botany Bay*.”

The above extract contains the summary of *French* doctrines, promulgated by those who insolently constitute themselves the delegates and voice of reformation which are to *awaken* the people of *England* to a co-operation with the *French* regicides; it also contains the hearty wish of every insulted *Englishman*, in all quarters of the globe, who can estimate the degree of impiety and treason couched in the doctrine. The critical situation of *Europe* under its most calamitous aspect, at least imposes a fortunate necessity of rejecting half measures, and will occasion an unequivocal separation of those men who, by desperate ambition or principles, or infatuation, can palliate or adopt such diabolical tenets, from those who thankfully acknowledge the blessings of true liberty, and can submit to fear God and honour the King. During the last century, a struggle to maintain the established church of *England*, traced with blood the political circle, which *Polybius** so well describes; since that period *Great Britain* has increased in

* ΑΥΤΗ ΠΟΛΙΤΕΩΝ ΑΝΑΧΥΛΩΣΙΣ. Polyb. Hist. p. 637.

power and in riches ; the *Carthaginians* heretofore stood “ the only people in the universe upon whom immense wealth was never able to work its usual effect ; ” they were never accused of luxury or effeminacy : I have entire confidence that at present, as well as on any future crisis, we shall revive a bright example by asserting the true religion of our fathers, and the principles of the *British* Constitution as settled at the revolution, after being preserved by piecemeal at different periods by deluges of noble blood ; they must stand or fall together : for “ if, as is unquestionably the case, laws are vain without morals, the well-being of every nation depends as much on its virtue as upon its laws. Slow the steps may be by which the destruction of the most profligate people advances ; as the most intemperate man may be several years before he ruins his constitution ; but the event in each case is alike certain. It is as certain that vice will at last destroy any state, as that it will any individual.” Even at the period of the revolution, “ the civil liberties to which we were restored being used as a

cloak of maliciousness, and the most horrid doctrines subversive of all religion, being publicly avowed both in discourse and writings, it was found necessary again for the civil power to interpose, by not admitting those miscreants to the privileges of society, who maintained such principles as destroyed all moral obligations; to this end the statute of 8th and 10th King *William III.*, cap. 32, was passed*." The responsibility of the constitution for the repression of violent and flagrant assaults on the established church, has enabled *Great Britain* to give toleration in the widest extent that spiritual considerations can require, connected with the most extended civil liberty.

I have now adduced more than I proposed when I undertook to give a political analysis of *British India*; I have traced principles to render them intelligible, without reviving the private or public interests and animosities which divided and guided the attention of *Great Britain* during its progress to empire; I have, with

* *Blackstone's Commentaries.*

equal firmness, and, I hope, candour, resisted the unfounded assumptions of the supporters and advisers of administration, and the unfounded censure of its opponents; I have referred to known authorities, and in general have adopted their words, it being more important to state accurately the extent to which I adopt their facts, without pledging myself to admit all their conclusions; and I have, with equal fairness, adduced, as far as possible, in their own words, the hints for practical administration, which, for some years past, I had stored from sound information of honourable and sensible men: the few who are alive will not require a formal apology from me for having diffused their information without their knowledge; but in the investigation of truth its friends must be drawn forth; “in quo tamen ego quid eniti, aut efficere possim, malo in aliorum spe relinquere quam in oratione ponere *.”

With respect to the gentlemen nominated for the supervision and for the admini-

* *Cic. Orat. in Q. Cæcil.*

stration of *British India*, and to the gentlemen who stand forth to censure or amend, (I cannot adduce words of less authority than of Lord *Clive*) “ they are the best judges whether their abilities and integrity are equal to the important service in which they engage; had they known the *East Indies* as well as I do, they would shudder at the bare idea of such perplexing and difficult service; the most rigid integrity, with the greatest disinterestedness, the greatest abilities, with resolution and perseverance, must be united in the man or men who undertake to reform the accumulating evils which exist in *Bengal*, and which threaten to involve the nation and the Company in one common ruin*.” I now conclude with a sincere, and, I hope, well-founded wish, that a vigorous and judicious administration, with the powers vested by the act of 1793, may for ever maintain the principles of prosperity and union in *Great Britain* and in *British India*.

* Lord *Clive*. Debate, in 1773, on sending supervisors to *India*. Parliamentary Debates, Vol. XXIV. p. 185.

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